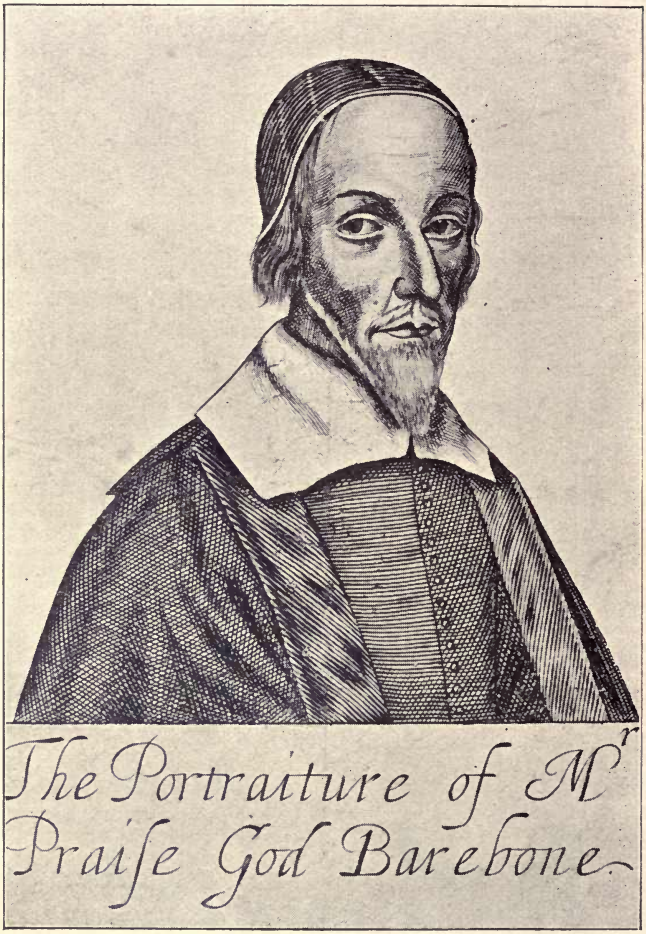
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THE BARBONE PARLIAMENT.



From a portrait in the Print Room of the British Museum. Circa. 1666-70: after his release from imprisonment in the Tower on the Restoration, and his removal from the "Lock and Key," to Crane Court, Fleet Street.

THE

BARBONE PARLIAMENT

(First Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, 1653.)

And the Religious Movements of the Seventeenth Century culminating in the Protectorate System of Church Government.

By HENRY ALEXANDER GLASS,

Author of "The Story of the Psalters: A History of the Metrical Versions of Great Britain and America."

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INTRODUCTORY.

For more than two centuries the Barbone Parliament has been chiefly known through the careless and contemptuous references of the historians. As De Quincey averred in his "Falsification of History," there has been a perpetual conspiracy since the era of the Restoration to misrepresent the facts and principles of the Stuart reigns. Lord Clarendon was the original offender. His "History of the Rebellion," from which subsequent writers have gleaned most of their information about the troublous times of the Commonwealth, is throughout an apology for the Stuart dynasty and a detraction of its opponents. He asserts of the Barbone Parliament that "some of its members were of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts of preaching and praying. . . . In a word, they were a pack of weak, senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of Parliament lower than it was yet. . . . They made choice of one Rouse to be their Speaker, an old gentleman of Devonshire, who had been a member of the former Parliament, and in that time had been preferred and, made Provost of the College of Eton, which office he enjoyed with an opinion of having some knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues; of a very mean understanding, and thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times. . . . These

men thus brought together continued in that capacity near six months to the amazement and even mirth of the people."

Anthony Wood writes : "But when the good things came to be done, which were solemnly declared for, he [Rous] as an old bottle, not being fit to leave with that new wine, went with his fellow old bottles to Whitehall to surrender their power." Nearly a century after Wood, Carte declares, "It was a great joke to the world to see such a parcel of men entering upon the debate of serious and important matters, pretending to reduce the exorbitant fees of lawyers, appointing a committee to consider the new body of the law, and passing a Bill to take away the Court of Chancery. Being most from Presbyterian or Baptist congregations, they were professed enemies of all learning, looked upon a regular minister as useless, and the payment of tithes as antichristian and downright Judaism."

Hume describes the Parliament as containing some persons of the rank of gentlemen : "but the far greater part were low mechanics, Fifth-Monarchy men, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Independents, the very dregs of the fanatics. . . . Of all the extraordinary schemes adopted by these legislators, they had not leisure to finish any, except that which established the legislation of marriage by civil magistrate alone, without interposition of clergy. They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public."

Macaulay is curt. He (Cromwell) "convoked a Council partly composed of persons on whom he could depend and partly of persons whose opposition he might safely defy. This assembly, which he called a Parliament, and which the populace named from one of its most conspicuous members Barebone's Parliament, after exposing itself a short time to the public contempt, surrendered back to the General the powers it had received from him."

Carlyle is hopeless as to getting any genuine information about the much-abused Parliament : "Their witty name survives, but their history is all gone dark ; and no man for the

present [1846] has in his head or his heart the faintest intimation of what they did or what they desired to do. They are very dark to us, and will not be illuminated much."

There is little excuse for the flagrant misrepresentations of the earlier historians. Clarendon could not have been ignorant of the character of the Barbone Parliament, although during the time of its sitting he was an *emigré*. Correspondents in England kept him acquainted with the actions of Government all through the stormy period of the Commonwealth; and later on he had ample opportunity for studying the times of the Commonwealth in his scholarly leisure. His reference to Rous is unpardonable, for he could not have forgotten the days when as Edward Hyde he served with him on Committees of Parliament, and listened to his impassioned speeches on the right of religion. Hume has as little justification. If he had taken the trouble to consult the existing records, meagre as they were, his slanders would have been impossible. Almost simultaneously with the publication of his history appeared the "Parliamentary History" in twenty-four volumes, containing full, if not complete, details of the Barbone Parliament from sources that were at Hume's command. The compilers had already noted that "historians differ so much in their characters of this assembly; yet they all seem to agree in passing over their proceedings with most affected neglect: they do little more than mention their coming together and their dissolution."

Some justice has been done to the Barbone Parliament by two historians of the present century. Von Ranke states that "the efforts for which they prepared are remarkable for all time. It is especially striking to find that a Parliament of zealous believers were the first to introduce reforms of modern liberal tendencies into the home legislation." Guizot writes that "some of the members were illustrious by birth and reputation, and a certain number were country gentlemen and prominent citizens in their towns and counties, landlords, merchants, tradesmen, or artizans. The most part of the members were of well-regulated manners.

. . . A sincere zeal animated the assembly; questions of private interest had little place in their deliberations; reasonable and upright, they sought only to serve and reform the State." Guizot seems to have preferred the opinion of Ludlow, a contemporary of the Parliament: "The Assembly for the most part was composed of honest and well-meaning persons, who, having good intentions, were less ready to suspect the evil designs of others."

Professor Gardiner, whose careful research and mastery of detail entitles him to the position of "*the* historian of the Commonwealth," so far follows the example of the earlier writers that his notice of the Barbone Parliament is little more than the corrected list of its members—in a footnote.

NOTE.—The chief authorities consulted in the present work are the Commons' Journals, the Parliamentary Histories; the Index to the Calendars of the Councils of State, and the "King's Pamphlets." The facts may be verified under their respective dates. The references to the "King's Pamphlets" are given under the Press Letter E in the catalogue of the Library of the British Museum.

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THE BARBONE PARLIAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

EVANGELICAL PROTESTANTISM.

PURITANISM in the sixteenth century was primarily a revolt against a corrupt Church and priestly domination. It was also the assertion of "the Right of Religion": a return to the primitive instructions of the Divine Master, who taught His disciples to pray "Our Father" in spirit and truth, each individual soul making known its requests unto God. It was a cry of "Halt!" to the ever-increasing superstitions eclipsing the light of Christ. So pervasive had been the agitation for a return to the simplicity of the Gospel, that from the time of Elizabeth to the Restoration every English Parliament, whether under James or Charles, was in the abstract distinctly Puritan. Nothing more evidences the spread of the spirit of Puritanism than the proceedings of the successive Parliaments which met at Westminster or Whitehall from the First of James, 1604, to the Third of the Commonwealth, 1656.

During the greater part of this period the Puritanism of Parliament was in no sense that of dissent or nonconformity to the Established Church. The watchword of its leaders was "Religion."[1] They maintained that the primary duty of the Church was the spread of the Gospel in the long-neglected parishes of the kingdom.

[1] In his speech on the dissolution of the Parliament, 1601, the Speaker of the House of Commons said: "The laws were not first made with human pen, but by Divine ordinance. If he were asked what was the first and chiefest thing to be considered of he would have said Religion. If what the second, Religion; if what the third, Religion. So Religion was all in all."—Townshend's Parliaments of Elizabeth.

Decadence of the Reformation in England.

When James I. ascended the throne in 1603, the Puritanism of the Reformation had been discouraged or repressed. Elizabeth had no sympathy with the drastic orders of Edward VI., who in 1561 required the Bishop of London "to give substantial order throughout his diocese that with all diligence the altars in every church or chapel, as well as places exempted, or not exempted, within his diocese be taken down, and instead thereof a table to be set in some convenient part of the chancel within every such church or chapel to serve for the administration of the blessed communion." Although for a time English Churchmen had taken the Sacrament in simple form around "the Lord's Board," and all semblance of the Mass had disappeared, the Catholic *revanche* under Mary, and the ritualistic tendencies of her successor, had changed the face of the Reformation. At the period of James's accession, in many of the dioceses the churches had returned to altar practices, and under the lax government of the bishops, all semblance of the former religious fervour had departed.

Two generations had passed away since the English Church had been severed from the Church of Rome, and the Book of Common Prayer had superseded her ritual. The result had been that in many parts of the country there was a widespread religious destitution in dark corners where the news of the death of Elizabeth had taken months to reach them before the bells were tolled; districts where the priest had long ago been banished, and no preacher of righteousness had taken his place. The shoals of monks and friars and other ecclesiastics who had ministered at the altars, married, buried, baptized, confessed, and absolved the people, had been but slowly succeeded by a new order of clergy, utterly inadequate to overtake the needs of the parishes. Even among the reformed incumbents were a large proportion of ignorant, if not scandalous, ministers. "There were some places in England which were scarce equalled in Christendom, where God was little better known than among the Indians."

It is true that there were Puritans who "kindled and preserved the precious spark of liberty" in the times of Elizabeth, but they had been unable to cope with the prevailing religious

destitution, and its active exponents had escaped to Holland or migrated across the Atlantic. In Scotland it was otherwise. There the Reformation had been triumphant. King James had left behind him a nation where it had not only taken root, but had become organised in every parish in his kingdom. Calvinistic in doctrine, and Presbyterian in government, the Church had become a really Protestant Church. "It was a glorious and religious work of King James," said Sir Benjamin Rudyerd in a speech before the Parliament of 1626, "I speak it to his unspeakable honour and the praise of the nation, who though their country be not so rich as ours, yet are they richer in their affections to religion. Within the space of one year he caused to be planted throughout all Scotland, the Highlands and the Borders, ministers of £30 a year apiece, with a horse and some glebe belonging to them; which £30 a year, considering the cheapness of the country and the modest fashion of men's living there, is worth double as much as anywhere within a hundred miles of London." [2]

The Reformation in Scotland.

It is clearly evident that when the Scotch King became the supreme head of the Church in England he lost his character as a Church reformer. He could talk and write very piously on occasion, and could defend his Calvinistic creed with the ability of a learned divine, yet he did nothing to relieve the spiritual destitution. He was more interested in curtailing the freedom of speech in the pulpit, issuing an order in 1622 directing "that no preacher whatever of what title soever under the degree of a bishop or dean, do from henceforth preach in any popular auditory the deep points of universality, efficacity, resistibility, or irresistibility of Divine grace." The Calvinistic doctrine was reserved exclusively as a royal or episcopal privilege. His Parliaments, however, were more interested than either he or his bishops in endeavouring to render the ministry of the Church more efficient. Unhappily, the only response of the Church authorities to the growing demand for more active efforts in the spread of religion was similar to that recorded by Yonge in his diary: "Hereupon, the Archbishop ordered a voluntary contribution from every double beneficed clergyman in his diocese for setting up a library for himself the primate."

[2] Ephemeris Parliamentaria.

Evangelical Revival in England.

The deplorable inactivity of Church and King was met by the evangelical revival of religion, taking its rise chiefly among the nobility and gentry. Little noted by the historians, called Puritan by Court and clergy, the movement grew and expanded. There can be no doubt that it resembled those which have since aroused from time to time the sleeping Churches of the country. There were exactly the same experiences of a period in the religious life, obvious and unmistakable, when "a man became a new creature"—born again. Philosophers noted the phenomenon. Lord Bacon, writing of a scion of an old Norfolk family,[3] whom he knew well, remarked that he made a leap from a vain and dissolute life to a preciseness of the highest degree. Sir Henry Vane, in a speech delivered in Parliament, alluding to his conversion, referred to the year 1626, when "God was pleased to lay the foundation or groundwork of repentance in him." That zealous Church reformer in the Parliaments of James and his successor, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, was in 1617 a wit and a courtier, bandying his repartees with the not too virtuous lover of women, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke.[4] Sir John Eliot had been the early friend and companion of the licentious Buckingham; he became the conscientious Admiral of Devon, and wrote "The Monarchy of Man." John Pym had become the "servant of a good God," and was eminent for piety and exactness of manners. Francis Rous, the future Provost of Eton and Speaker of the Barbone Parliament, commenced his career as a Spenserian poet. He "took ship to go to Tarsus, even foreign countries"; he returned home, and studied law "until a storm from heaven chased him away to the study of eternity." The seventh Earl of Derby, influenced by the movement, "showed his deep sense of religion by placing in all his livings men of austere piety.[5] Especially was this revived interest in religion apparent among the nobility by the number of authors who dedicated their religious works to them. Walter Yonge enumerated among them Lady Wentworth, Earl of Huntington, Countess of Cumberland, Countess of Warwick, the Lord Chan-

[3] Henry Barrow. [4] Poems of Sir William Herbert and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, 1617. [5] Baines's History of Lancashire.

cellor, Lord Hastings, Lady Dacre, Earl of Bedford, and Lord Rich. Neal records that Lady Bowes gave £1,000 per annum to maintain preachers in the North; "in fact, the religious movement had gathered so much strength, and was of such reputation with the people, that they were more in number than all the other parties in the kingdom."

The New Protestantism.

It was the advent of a new Protestantism directed against the ritualism, or Arminianism, as it was called, of the English Church. It found expression in the advocacy of a more Calvinistic creed, and in earnest endeavours to promote legislation, having for its object the relief of the prevailing spiritual destitution.[6] One of the first movers in the crusade against the apathy of the bishops was Francis Rous, the young Spenserian poet of the last days of Elizabeth. As early as 1616 he published his "Meditations Endeavouring the Edification and Reparation of the House of the Lord," in which he denounced the corruption in the presentation to benefices, and complained that the clergy had fallen into such contempt that ministers were called the scum of the earth, and gentlemen scorned to bestow their sons in the sacred calling. Rous disclaimed the title of Puritan. All through his eventful life he disdained the appellation He was a reformer of abuses in the Church, of which for many years he was a loyal adherent. The men who so powerfully influenced the Parliaments of James and his successor sprang to a large extent from this new Protestantism, having little or no relation whatever to the old Puritanism.

[6] Among the State papers is an undated MS., probably about the time of the meeting of the Parliament of 1625, in which articles were propounded for furnishing such parishes throughout the kingdom as were in want of able and preaching ministers, and supplying them with competent maintenance. 1. If upon the expiration of the present leases, the bishops, deans, colleges, &c., would let their lands at the same rents to the ministers officiating these cures instead of laymen as at present, forbearing not only their small and uncertain fines, there would be a convenient maintenance in most places. 2. If an Act were passed making it lawful for any well-disposed person to restore impropriations, and otherwise out of their own means to furnish the church, and so add to the rectories and vicarages insufficiently endowed. 3. If the King and Parliament would grant a subsidy to God and His Church by repurchasing such impropriations as should remain in lay hands. 4. If a commission might be granted to influential persons in every diocese for collecting of voluntary gifts, in a short time it might be hoped that few parishes would remain unprovided, as many now do.—Note 67, Vol. 1648-9, C. S. P.

They were English gentlemen, seeking by Parliamentary legislation the evangelisation of the parishes. It was their enthusiasm that gave vigour and direction to Parliament in the struggle with the monarchy and its claim to Divine right, placing the interests of religion to the front in all their propositions for the reconstruction of government.

The Petition of 1625.

That they constituted an important and influential party in the country became evident on the accession of Charles. He was immediately approached by the religious reformers with a petition praying that special care might be taken to enlarge the Word of God throughout his Majesty's dominions. When the Parliament met in 1625, as Hume acknowledges, "the House of Commons was almost entirely governed by a set of men of most uncommon capacity and the largest views." What did they do? Sir Edward Coke ("Coke upon Lyttleton") at once moved that the House should go into Committee with the instruction to "begin with God: and secondly, tonnage and poundage."[7] It was so resolved. Owing to the plague then raging in London partial subsidies were voted for imminent necessities, and the House adjourned to meet at Oxford. There Mr. Coryton moved for a committee to "consider of what fit to be done, both for the supply for the King and relief of the kingdom, wherein religion to have the first place." Sir Nathaniel Rich insisted that they must have a satisfactory answer about religion. Then Sir H. Mildmay and Sir Miles Fleetwood successively advocated that before entering upon questions of finance they should have an answer from the King to their request concerning the enlargement of the Word of God in his dominions. Receiving no reply, they refused the supplies, and the House was promptly dissolved.

Suggested Legislation.

In the succeeding Parliament of 1626, the reformers were not only insistent on religion having the first place in their deliberations, they were ready for practical legislation. Bills were introduced concerning scandalous ministers, on motion of Mr. Pym, and for prevention of corruption in presentation to benefices. Rudyerd moved for the increase of poor men's livings. The reforming knight showed how necessary

[7] Parliamentary Debates, June, 1625.

the augmentation had become, and how shameful it was that it had been so long neglected. "Many livings," he said, "were of five marks and five pounds a year. Men of worth and good parts would not be muzzled on such pittances. There were some places in the uttermost parts of the North where the prayers of the common people were more like spells than devotions; the same blindness in divers parts of Wales, which many in that country both know and lamented." He declared, "that to plant good ministers in good livings was the surest means to establish true religion."

The position taken up by the reformers was a revolutionary one. They virtually declared that the object of propagation of the Gospel in the parishes through the medium of the hierarchy was hopeless. To attain it Parliament must legislate for religion in its stead. They asserted a "Right of Religion" inherent in the laity, and commenced an agitation in favour of what might be termed a Gospel Erastianism, destined in its conflict with the sacerdotal claims of the Established Church to eventuate in a revolution.

The interference of Parliament on behalf of the spiritually destitute parishes seemed to the bishops like trespassing on their own preserves. They claimed an exclusive right to control the religion of the country as emphatically as the Pope of Rome asserted his Divine authority over the Christian world, little apprehending what the result would be of a widespread conviction that all men were responsible to God alone, and that the claims of His kingdom took precedence of the interests of any ecclesiastical organisation. They had drawn a sharply-defined line between religion and the Church, and asserting the predominance of the former, proposed to increase poor men's livings, prevent corruption in the sale of benefices, and clear the country of scandalous and profane ministers by Act of Parliament. It was a gage of battle between the advocates of the right of religion and the defenders of the *jure divino* of kings and bishops, taken up on both sides in a contest which lasted, with varying fortunes, for a generation.

Nothing resulted from the deliberations on religion in Charles's second parliament. Both Church and King were more interested in the fate of Buckingham than in religious destitu-

tion. Four months after its meeting his Majesty dismissed it in order to shield his favourite from exposure and punishment.

In 1628 another Parliament was summoned. Following the precedent of the others, religion continued to hold the first place. A Bill against scandalous ministers was again introduced, and committees were named to consider better allowance to preaching ministers, and to redress neglect of preaching and catechising. After a prorogation committees were appointed to consider heads of articles to be insisted upon in religion, and for enlargement of hearing the Word of God preached. In the grand debate on grievances, so graphically described by Mr. Forster, Rous succeeded in turning it primarily to religion. Said he: "We have of late entered upon the petition of right, and the violation of it; and upon good reasons; for it concerns our goods, liberties, and lives, but there is a right of a higher nature that preserves us for greater things, even the eternal life, our souls, even God Himself; a right of religion derived to us from the King of kings, confirmed to us by the kings of these kingdoms, and enacted by laws in this place, streaming down to us in the blood of the martyrs, and witnessed from heaven; and this right, in the name of this nation, I this day claim!"

The Speech of Francis Rous on Right of Religion.

Among others Rous was supported by Sir Walter Earle, who confessed that as for passing bills, settling revenues, and the like, without settling religion, he had no heart to it. "Take away my religion, and you take away my life. The sum of all that I have said to you is this: of all the businesses that are now before you, whatsoever they may be, let religion have the precedency." Mr. Pym followed him, claiming that Parliament had heretofore been judges of faith, and that religion was legitimately their concern; and Sir John Eliot commenced the final speech by stating that he was glad when his countryman had given "occasion to stay their proceedings in the great and weighty business of religion."[8] Shortly after the committee to

[8] Mr. Forster applies the reference to Mr. Coryton, the Member for Grampound, but Mr. Gardiner quotes Lord Verulam's MSS. ascribing the motion to Rous. A comparison of the records in Diurnal Occurrences, January 20, March 10, with the Parliamentary History and the Commons' Journals, makes it clear that no other than Rous could have been referred to as diverting the debate to the business of religion.

consider the heads of articles to be insisted upon in religion, presented their report, and it was transmitted to the King. It was calculated by its thoroughness to have frightened a less obdurate monarch than Charles. Upon the receipt of it His Majesty adjourned the House for a week, and presently after dissolved it. The efforts of the religious reformers had come to nought, and the King forthwith commenced his fatal attempt to govern *jure divino* without a Parliament.

Failure of the Reformers.

The first great battle between the King's *jure divino* and the right of religion had been fought out on the floor of the House of Commons. It had resulted in a disastrous defeat of the reformers; they were beaten hip and thigh and retired brooding to their homes. The best constituents of English political life were dispersed and silenced. But the King and his advisers were militant. Utterly oblivious to the ominous quiet of a disappointed people, they inaugurated a system of repression and persecution aiming at the destruction not only of the right of religion but of nearly all the legitimate rights of the King's subjects.

The annals of the twelve years' reign of arbitrary government that ensued constitute a sad chapter in English history. A series of judicial courts were established, placing the country under exactions that were enforced with

The Reign *jure divino.*

January 26 Mr. Secretary Cooke moved that the Bill for tonnage and poundage be read, and after some debate it was (on Rous's motion) diverted to religion, and it was ordered that the subject [of religion] be debated in committee in the afternoon. The next day (27th) the King sent a message hoping that Parliament would proceed with tonnage and poundage, and "give precedence to it." Sir Walter Earle urged that religion challengeth precedence. Mr. Coryton: "Let us so proceed as it may conduce to His Majesty's desire. The unity of the House is sweet, let us go into committee." When in committee Mr. Pym attacked old Popery and new Arminianism, and the House adjourned until next morning, when it received another message from the King concerning tonnage and poundage. Mr. Long sorrowed that the House was still pressed upon the point. Sir Thomas Edmonds warned the House of the danger of alienating His Majesty's heart. Mr. Coryton: "Let us not do God's work negligently, let us proceed as may most conduce to His Majesty's desires (to vote supplies first)." Then Sir John Eliot: "I was glad when the noble gentleman, my countryman, gave occasion to stay our proceedings." Clearly referring to Mr. Rous, probably sitting near him, who had diverted the debate at the commencement of the discussions. On the 29th, Mr. Pym reported to the House the declaration agreed upon by the Committee for Religion.

cruel severity. All classes of the community suffered. The landed interests had to encounter the forest courts and defend their legal titles. It was easy to show that the forest lands had once belonged to the crown. All who had not documentary proof by gift or purchase, although they had been in possession of their estates for generations, were ordered to pay an acquittance; £300,000 is said to have been raised by this method in Essex alone. The old practice of James was revived, compelling gentlemen of good estate to purchase knighthood or baronetage. Country residents were forbidden to stay in London; and when there were "restrained" from using their carriages in the city and its vicinity on pretence of preventing the destruction of the highways. Universal distress was caused by the sale of monopolies in wheat and other grain, ironware, wools, yarns, fuller's earth, wood ashes, tin, soap, girdles, bells, hangers, brass buckles, tobacco, perles, cutworke, bone laces, glass, ornamental jewels, coaches, whale fins, beer and ale, foreign hats, bread, and white starch. All classes of the community were suffering from diminished incomes and increased cost of the necessaries and luxuries of life, when the enforcement of the unconstitutional tax of ship money filled to the brim the measure of the popular discontent.

Whilst Charles was committing political suicide by this kind of government in secular affairs, Laud was engaged in a similar work of self-destruction in relation to the Church.

Laud's Opposition to the Evangelical Movement.

It seems almost incredible that he should have set himself in active opposition to the evangelical movement by insisting upon a policy that would have put an end to all hope of reform by stamping out everything that the heroes of the Reformation had died for. Yet the attempt was made to enforce a strict uniformity in a ritual and ceremonial that must have been abhorrent to the still prevalent Protestantism of the country. The King, by proclamation, declared the proceedings of His Majesty's Ecclesiastic Courts and Ministers were according to the law of the land (*i.e.*, had the force of law). With this implied power the Star Chamber began a work of repression and persecution second only to that of a Spanish inquisition.

The retrograde policy of Elizabeth had so far failed in secur-

ing uniformity in worship that numerous churches continued the forms of service enjoined by Edward VI. In some places the Communion bread and wine were still received sitting or standing at the table in the body of the church, possibly, in some cases, because there was no chancel. Where there were chancels they contained the simple wooden table covered by the clean white cloth instead of an altar, and were not railed off. White surplices were not worn, nor did the congregation bow at the name of Jesus. The preaching was Calvinistic. Simplicity in the ritual was the standing protest against the superstitious observances of the Romish Church. Even among the churches that had adopted the Elizabethan ritual, there were many not content with mere devotional forms, giving a prominent if not the first place to the preaching. They required something more than creeds or ceremonies—the application of doctrine to their spiritual needs.

Decisions of the Star Chamber.

By the decisions of the Star Chamber the new as well as the old Protestant Churchmen were compelled to uniformity of worship: to erect altars, to bow to the east, to wear surplices, to conduct services on saints' days, and generally to act against their convictions or preferences. The term "thorough," as applied to Strafford's political policy in Ireland, was eminently characteristic of the ecclesiastical reign of terror inaugurated by Archbishop Laud. The instructions of James I. against Calvinistic preaching were revived, and a new order issued and enforced:—1. That no preacher in expounding any text of Scripture whatever do take occasion to say anything that cannot by natural inference be warranted by the Thirty-nine Articles or the Homilies of the Church. 2. That no text shall be taken except from the Catechism, the Creeds or the Ten Commandments. 3. That no preacher shall presume to preach on predestination, election, reprobation, or the universality, efficacy, or irresistibility of God's grace. "The Churchwarden's Oath" was imposed in many of the dioceses. It was a formidable document, containing nine chapters and one hundred and thirty-eight articles. The churchwardens were to report any one abiding in the parish or resorting to it who wilfully maintained any heresies, errors, or false opinions contrary to the faith and Holy Scripture, or impugned

any of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, or who were suspected of having attended any unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, or who refused to repair to the church to hear Divine service, or to receive the Holy Communion—and so forth, through many a wearisome page.

Thus Laud sought to promote religion by discountenancing the Calvinism of the revivalists, insisting on the strict observance of sacerdotal rites and ceremonies in every parish church in the kingdom. His remedy for spiritual destitution was priestly control, in determined opposition to the aim of reformers of maintaining able and "preaching" ministers, and removing the scandals attending the misappropriation of Church revenues.

Ear-Cropping and the Pillory.

And Charles had given authority to the Church courts to punish ecclesiastical offences! They used it by casting into prison forty-two persons for "worshipping God in the house of a brewer's clerk in Blackfriars"! The Headmaster of Westminster School wrote to a bishop making not very complimentary remarks about Laud: he was dismissed, fined £5,000, and sentenced to have his ears tacked to the pillory before his scholars. Dr. Leighton published "Zion's Plea against Prelacy": he was whipped before he was put in the pillory, one of his ears was cut off, one side of his nose slit, and one of his cheeks branded with a red-hot iron. A week afterwards the sentence was further carried out on the other side of his poor head. Prynne,[9] and Bastwick, and Burton lost their ears, "cut off to the roots," Mrs. Burton receiving her husband's ears in her lap and kissing him. Lilburne was sentenced to be whipped from the Fleet Prison to Palace Yard, Westminster, and then placed in the pillory. "All along the Strand the lash

[9] Prynne had published "Sixteen New Queries Proposed to our Lord Prelates." The bitter satire of these queries must have profoundly irritated the Court and the bishops. He asked, "Whether, if the Apostles were now in England, and should preach Jesus Christ daily in our temples and from house to house without ceasing, as they did (Acts v. 42), our lord prelates would not presently silence, suspend, and pursuivant them into the High Commission, and there fine and imprison them for conventicleers? And if they should preach notwithstanding their lordships' prohibitions, whether their lordships would not thereupon be filled with indignation, and put them in the common prison, and keep them fast, and beat them, too, as their predecessors, the High Priests, did (Acts v.), since they thus serve our godly, faithful ministers for the same causes?

descended on his back,[10] as he scattered copies of Bastwick's pamphlet in the midst of his sufferings. The Star Chamber sent out an order that he should be immediately gagged. Returning to the Fleet he was kept without food, and would have died of hunger had not the half-starved prisoners shared their crusts with him."

Laud's Projects Arrested.

Attempting this kind of ecclesiastical government in Scotland, Laud's projects were arrested by the stool of Jenny Geddes. The people were aroused, and soon the Covenant scattered away every remnant of episcopal conformity. Not only this check to the Church: the King found himself confronted by a Scotch army marching into England. His twelve years of personal rule, harassing alike to all interests, had resulted in leaving him without resources, depending upon the assistance of a discontented people. No help for it but in calling a Parliament and facing his estranged subjects.

Fourth Parliament of Charles.

It was in a changed England that the fourth Parliament of Charles assembled at Westminster in April, 1640. During the thirty-seven years that had passed since the death of Elizabeth the old Puritanism had been superseded by the new evangelism pervading all ranks of society, and the nation was in a turmoil of excitement on account of the encroachments of the Crown on the privileges of Parliament and the liberty of the subject. It was a critical moment. Surely it was time for a new departure in the direction of constitutional reform in Church and State. But the infatuated King met his Parliament with an urgent appeal for an immediate grant of money, for the purpose of raising an army to quell the insurrection of his discontented subjects in Scotland. Grievances could wait. That was not the opinion of the House: its primary object was the redress of them. Proceeding to inquire into the causes of the imprisonment of Sir John Eliot and the illegal imposition of ship money, a committee was immediately nominated consisting of such prominent members as Pym, Rous, Hampden, Selden, Russell, Walsingham, and others, to consider the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts.

After excited debates the House returned to the position of

[10] Gardiner.

its predecessors by carefully drawing up a list of grievances to be presented to his Majesty, preliminary to the consideration of financial needs. First, innovations in matters of religion. Second, property. Third, privileges. The grievances discussed, it would enter upon the business of supplies. Sent up to the Lords for concurrence, the list and its proviso were never returned; for without notice, three weeks after its meeting, the King in his usual curt manner dissolved the Parliament. The next time a Parliament was dismissed it was by a Lord-General, now sitting inconspicuous on the benches of the House as Member for Cambridge town.

Abrupt Dissolution.

It must have been a bitter disappointment to many when the fourth Parliament of Charles went so quickly in the way of its forerunners. Much had been expected from it. Spite of bishops and Star Chamber, some churches had been interpolating an addition to the prayer for the High Court of Parliament: "O Lord, bless them with all wisdom which Thou knowest *necessary to bring great designs into action,* and to make the maturity of his Majesty's and their counsels the happiness and blessing of this commonwealth."[11] And the great designs had vanished as a vapour! There was little doubt that the country was now ripe for revolution. What hope had either religious or political reformers in the future, dependent as they seemed to be on the weak obstinacy of a King not bound by any law except that of the Divine right of doing what he pleased?

Wallington wrote: "Now when the King came back from Scotland there was a Parliament called, whereof our hearts were glad; but it did break up presently and nothing was done. So there was still oppression of the patentees, and great oppression in paying of money for new corporations; and they that were so poor that they had no money —scarce worth ten shillings—were fain to sell the little that they had to make money for that they had no right to pay, although they and their children want bread. This was a grievous oppression of those that did dwell in the outposts of the city. So there was oppression for ship money, and they that would not pay some had the best of their kine and their horses driven out of their ground, or their goods attached or

The Country Ripe for Revolution.

[11] E 203.

taken away, or else sent to prison to their great damage or undoing."

Yet blind to the signs of the time, Charles, by means of fresh exactions on his long-suffering subjects, raised an army and marched towards Scotland, leaving behind him an irritated people hopelessly despondent of obtaining deliverance from the reign of oppression. So far from bending to the popular will, the King permitted Convocation to sit continuously, notwithstanding even the expostulations of Laud, so that in the King's absence there might be no break in carrying out his reactionary policy. Seventeen new canons were introduced and enforced. They were ordered to be read in church four times every year. One of them declared that the most high and sacred order of Kings was of Divine will. God Himself had given authority to kings over all persons ecclesiastical and civil: it was treason to maintain any independent popular power to bear arms against kings on any pretence whatever. Such as resisted the powers ordained of God would receive to themselves damnation. Another canon compelled the clergy to take the so-called "et cetera" oath (it had an et cetera in the middle of it; perhaps the only instance of swearing to an et cetera), that they would not give their consent to alter the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, as it then stood established, and by right ought to stand. It was a challenge thrown down by the Church in the face of the angry reformers, and aroused a storm of indignation.[12]

And this is the summing-up of Charles's administration by the historian Hume, who was to be for many a day the authority for the student of English history: "The causes of disgust, which, for above thirty years, had been daily multiplying in England, were now come to maturity, and the good prince, who was sincerely attached to his consort (!), had to bend before the rising wave of popular discontent."

[12] The anatomy of et cetera, a passionate dialogue between two zealous brothers, Roger and Ralph. Roger: See what a vile misshapen monster it is—this *et cetera!* God bless us! A hint of the Devil, the brand which is on the buttock of the beast, the dragon's tail tied together in an unChristian knot—this imp of hell, this caterpillar, this toad! Ralph: My pious and zealous brother, hearken to what I shall say in fear and reverence: this is a very nice point. Roger: I say to the *et cetera* thou liest! Oh, accursed *et cetera!* Thou prodigious anti-Christian bastard!—E 169.

CHAPTER II.

THE VICTORIOUS PARLIAMENT.

UNABLE to raise a revenue, do what he would, the impecunious King had no option except to call another Parliament. It met on November 3, 1640, not to discontinue its sittings until both Church and King were, for a time, matters of past history. All the popular Members of the fourth Parliament of Charles were returned to the fifth, or "Long Parliament," swelled into a large majority. Following precedent, the House first appointed the Committee for Privileges—Pym, Hampden, Rous, Selden, Fairfax, Russell, Walsingham, and others as before—and then went into Grand Committee of Religion. The disposition of the House was at once manifest in a resolution to take the Sacrament in Westminster Abbey, as an evidence of its determination to oppose the Popish tendencies of the hierarchy. Two Members of the House were required to repair to the Reverend the Dean of Westminster to give him an instruction from the House "desiring the elements should be consecrated upon a common table standing in the middle of the church, according to the rubric, and to have the table removed from the altar." The Dean was one of the long line of the rulers of the Abbey who have taken an independent position in Church affairs. He not only complied with the desire that the table should be removed, but added "this further respect to the House that he would do as much for any parish in his diocese that should desire it." The final triumph of the religious movement, commenced nearly half a century before, was celebrated by the "gentlemen of England" publicly taking the Sacrament in simple form around the "Lord's Board."

Meeting of the Long Parliament.

And the House was in terrible earnest.[13] On December 4, it was ordered "that whosoever does not take his place when he comes to the House, or removes from his place to the disturbance of the House, shall pay twelvepence, to be divided between the Serjeant and the poor. And whosoever speaks so loud in the House when any Bill or other matter is reading as to disturb the House shall pay the like proportion.

Grand Committee of Religion.

The Grand Committee on Religion sat every Saturday and Monday, appointing sub-committees, most of them afterwards constituted standing committees. One of them had for its object to discover in every county the many sufferings of ministers by ecclesiastical proceedings, the state of the registers, and the abuses in the licensing and printing of books. Sir Edward Dering was chairman of the Kent committee, the minutes of which have been preserved and are published by the Camden Society. There was a special committee to inquire into the doings of scandalous ministers, and another subsequently called the "Preaching Ministers' Committee," to consider how there may be preaching ministers where there are none, and how these preaching ministers may be maintained. It had power to send for parties, witnesses, writings, and records, and to find the true grounds and causes of the great scarcity of preaching ministers throughout the whole kingdom, and of some way for removing scandalous ministers and putting others in their places. The House further ordered that all the knights and burgesses for every county should be required, both on their own knowledge and from the information from the several counties concerning preaching ministers, and whence it ariseth there is such a scarcity throughout the kingdom. The Parliament earnestly desired and expected that all ingenious persons in every

Preaching Ministers' Committee.

[13] November 25. Dr. Lafield, being charged with setting up the table altarwise, and causing gold letters I.H.S. to be set up upon the table and forty other places, was sent for as a delinquent, although he was a member of the Convocation. Two months later, February 1, 1641, Sir Nicholas Crispe was on his knees in the House for being a monopolist in lead and copper. February 3, Mr. Nevill was brought upon his knees for discovering matters of secrecy to the Lords. February 17, Master Conisby, of Hertfordshire, brought upon his knees for abuses in choosing burgesses. February 11, Company of Stationers brought before the Lords for printing books without licence, and sent to prison.—Diurnal Occurrences.

county of the kingdom would be active, and improve the present opportunity by giving a true information of all the parishes in the several counties:—1. Where there were men of more than one benefice, and what such men's revenues were reputed to be; 2. Where there is no maintenance, or too little maintenance for a preaching minister; 3. Where there is no preaching, or seldom preaching; 4. Where there are persecuting, innovating, or scandalous ministers, that they may be put out, and order taken for better to be put in their places.[14] The step thus taken to relieve the Church of the spiritual duties it had long neglected, was a reassertion of the right of religion as paramount to the *jure divino* of the King and the claims of ecclesiastics. It was a position that the Parliament never after relinquished.

Concurrently with the nominations of these committees for religion, the impeachment of Strafford and Laud was ordered; the earcropped victims of the Star Chamber, Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, were released from prison and compensated; and the canons of Convocation were declared to be illegal, the clergy being absolved from obedience thereto. Not many days after the meeting of Parliament Wallington triumphantly exclaimed, "The enemies of God do flee!" The King, deprived of his chief advisers, had to face the prerogative of Parliament, imperatively asserted both in Church and State. The Govern-

[14] A certificate from Northamptonshire in response to the request for true information stated that "of the 326 benefices in the county only twenty are pluralities." That, however, was not the evil. It was the want of sufficient maintenance, "for one half almost are appropriate churches, and the vicarages commonly left so small and destitute that there was not sufficient means left for ministers to buy books and keep hospitalities, or live like a minister in reasonable condition. Besides that, the vicarages that are poor are abridged and spoiled under pretence of long leases, and also rate tithes in lieu of tithes in kind. The poor vicars preach seldom, and some not at all." Several instances are given: one of "the Pidlington parsonage in the hundred of Wimmersley, distant three miles from Northampton, worth about £300 yearly, which Sir John Wake, Knight, detains wholly in his hands, enjoying both the parsonage house, all the glebe, being three or four yard land, together with all the tithes whatsoever. And there is not so much as a poor curate there resident to read the prayers. Sir John keeps a minister in his house at the Lodge in Sawcy Forest, whom he sends to Pidlington at times." The certificate details seven other similar instances, and concludes that until there be a tolerable maintenance provided in every parish, a faithful preaching ministry would be impossible.—E 163.

ment had been transferred from the Crown to the people's representatives.

Public Commotion.

It is surprising how soon the nation recognised the momentous change. It seemed to breathe a novel air of liberty after this sudden deliverance from the repression of many years. Pulpit and Press were alike unmuzzled. Shoals of petitions on religion poured into Parliament, and the printing presses teemed with political pamphlets ushering in the advent of the newspaper. Never before had England witnessed such a time of national excitement as now heralded the commencement of a revolution. Happily, the English were a law-abiding people, with a strong religious element among all classes of the community, and the horrors of a French political convulsion were escaped.

In May, 1641, Parliament resolved upon a "protest" to maintain and defend the true Protestant religion, according to the duty of allegiance to the King's person, the privileges of Parliament, and the lawful rights of the subject. It was formally signed by both Houses of Parliament on May 4. Following the protestation, the bishops were excluded from the House of Lords, Star Chamber and the High Commission Court were swept away, ship money declared to be illegal, and the existing patents of the monopolists "quite damned." Parliament having thus become the sole judge of ecclesiastical offences, the King sent to the Lords a paper he had received concerning Anabaptists, recommending them to justice: "they were all taken on Sunday last in the house of Richard Sturges, where they said they met to teach and edify one another in Christ!" The House ordered that disturbers of public worship should be severely punished, but that the clergy in their several parishes should forbear to introduce any rites and ceremonies that might give offence.[15] Later on the Lords order "that every bishop shall take care that the communion table in every church in his

[15] Die Jovis, 9th September, 1641. It is this day ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the High Court of Parliament assembled, that the Divine service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of the realm, and that all such as shall disturb that wholesome order, shall be punished according to the law; and that the parsons, vicars, and curates in the several parishes shall forbear to introduce any rites and ceremonies that may give offence otherwise than those which are established by the laws of the land.—E 150.

diocese shall stand in the ancient place [the body of the church?] where it ought to be so by law, and as it is done for the greater part of these threescore years last past." The Commons resolve that William Aston is a common haunter of ale-houses, a common drunkard, a frequent attempter of the chastity of women, therefore altogether unfit to continue a vicar. They also pass Bills for building a new church at Plymouth, and for dividing the parish of St. Andrew's there.

Early Church Ritual Restored.

"It was a great praying year" (1641), wrote Wallington, "with much boldness in private houses, without fear. I think that on most days of this Parliament there have been hundreds, and some persons of no small account, for there have been coaches at the door for them." It must have been also a year of national perplexity. Puzzling must it have been to the London citizen to note that at the same time the carriages of the gentry were driving to attend religious services in unsanctioned meeting houses, Barebone's windows were being broken by a mob rioting outside his house in Fleet Street, because he had been found preaching in his leather-seller's shop. The Nonconformity that had lain hidden from the public gaze in the days of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts had developed into a widespread sectarianism—Presbyterian, Baptist, Independent, and many sects of lesser note—the inception of church organisations destined in a future and yet far distant day to rival that of the Episcopacy.

It was indeed a bewildering time of new conditions. Like prisoners discharged from their dark cells into sunlight and freedom, the populace seemed dazed at the change. The new liberty brought to the surface all the ideas that had long been obscured by the oppressive, restrictive laws, and even in these days we rub our eyes in marvel at the bound into the future made by our Commonwealth ancestors. In this praying and confusing year the gentlewomen and tradesmen's wives in and about the City of London demanded of Parliament the right to petition as well as the men. Mr. Pym is requested to meet them at the door. "Good women, your petitions and the reasons thereof have been read in the House, and is very thankfully accepted of, and is come in a seasonable time." The

Times of Bewilderment.

reasons of the women were: 1. Because Christ hath purchased us at as dear a rate as He hath done man. 2. Because in the free enjoying of Christ in His own laws, and a flourishing state in Church and Commonwealth, consisteth the happiness of women as well as man. 3. Because women are sharers in the common calamities that accompany the Church and Commonwealth. The curate of Easton, near Towcester, anticipated nineteenth-century legislation by publishing "A Motion against Imprisonment, wherein it is proved that Imprisonment for Debt is against the Gospel, and against the good of Church and Commonwealth."[16]

And the banner of religious freedom was unfurled by the Brownists. A hitherto obscure sect had come to the front as Independents, and had begun to influence the trend of events. They advocated a new and to many a monstrous doctrine, that the State had no business at all to interfere with professors of religion, except only to protect the freedom of every citizen to enjoy his own opinions without molestation from any kind of established authority. Their attitude towards all varieties of religious profession was "to let them alone." Printed privately in 1641 there appeared:—

The Humble Petition of the Brownists.[17]

Petition of the Brownists.

If there be *Brownists* upon scruple of conscience, and grounded upon the Word, will separate themselves, and not go to church with Protestants, let them alone, give them free leave to exercise their religion where they please without disturbance; the place where doth not import, they not daring to add or diminish anything in the Written Word.

If the *Puritans* will not use the Service Book, corner cap, surplice, or altar, nor bow at the name of Jesus, their pure hearts esteeming it idolatry, let them alone: they are great readers of God's Book, and if they be in error, they will soon find it, having liberty of conscience, than being oppressed with the tyranny of the High Commission Court, or other kinds of persecution which disquiets their conscience or troubles their patience.

If the *Socinians* will not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles, nor credit them more than by natural forces of their best wits they can reach unto, let them alone: they profess that if any man can give them a better reason, or confute them by the Word, they are ready every hour to change their opinion, of such soft and pliable natures they are.

[16] E 151. [17] E 178.

If the *Arminians* will have bishops, altars, lights, organs, hold free will, merit of good works, and divers other points with Papists, let them alone: though as yet no sacrifice with them upon their altars, let them use their ceremonies without sacrifice, let every spirit praise the Lord.

If the *Papists* will have altars, priests, sacrifice, and ceremonies, and the Pope for their supreme head in affairs, seeing they affirm so confidently these sixteen hundred odd years, let them alone with their pretended prescription; and let every religion take what head they please, for so they will, whether we will or no, but the matter imports not so they obey the temporal head, and humbly submit to the State and civil laws, and live quietly together.

Let the *Adamites* preach in vaults and caves as naked as their nails, and starve themselves with cold; they think themselves as innocent as Adam and Eve were in their nakedness before the Fall. Let them therefore alone, until some innocent Eve be so anxious to eat the forbidden fruit, and then they will all make themselves aprons of fig-leaves, perceiving their nakedness.

Let the *Family of Love* meet together in their sweet perfumed chambers, giving each other the sweet kiss of peace; great pity it were to hinder mutual charity: let them alone.

Lastly, the same desire for all professors of the Gospel, let every one abound in his own sense. Now, were this freedom permitted, there would not be so many idle, scandalous pamphlets daily cast abroad, to the great vexation of each other, and trouble to the whole realm, every one labouring to prefer his own religion.[18]

The Grand Remonstrance.

Whilst the country was agitated with the new developments of thought on the subject of religion, Parliament was engrossed in the discussion of the Remonstrance. A majority of the Members of the House were determined to place on record a narrative of accusation concerning the tyrannical acts of Charles's reign, in order to vindicate their own position and justify their assumption of prerogative. In the contest that raged for months, lasting from August 2 to November 22, 1641, the House became sharply divided into two parties, resulting, as a compromise, in a declaration, as far as religion was concerned, that although it had abolished Episcopacy, it "was far from their purpose to let loose the reins of discipline and government in the Churches, and to leave persons or particular congregations to take up what Divine service they please." Parliament "sought conformity which the laws

[18] Mr. Gardiner thinks that the Brownists' petition is rather suspicious for the largeness of its charity. But was not the irony of its tone purposely intended by the writer to give piquancy and force to his entirely novel suggestions for freedom of thought and practice in matters of religion?

enjoined according to the Word of God," and desired that there might be a general synod of pious, learned, and judicious divines to assist them in obtaining their object.

Much to the disgust of the King, the Remonstrance, having been passed by the Commons, was printed, published, and circulated throughout the country without consulting the Lords. Not long after, he was "betrayed into the indiscretion" of going to the House, accompanied by two hundred armed men, for the purpose of arresting "the Five Members" for high treason. A popular commotion ensued, in the midst of which Charles retired to Hampton Court. He was not to return to Whitehall until he came to it a prisoner, to be himself tried for treason to the Commonwealth by High Commission in Westminster Hall. He wandered from one place to another, refusing to sanction the Bills sent up to him by Parliament, and at last, finding adherents in the North, he set up his standard at Nottingham. Parliament promptly accepted the King's challenge by calling out the militia, and the nation was soon in the throes of the Civil War. Yet, in the midst of its military preparations, the Parliament never relaxed its efforts for Church renovation, rendered now imperatively necessary by the complete disappearance of the hierarchy.

Arrest of the Five Members.

At first it had been tedious work to make any advance in legislation on Church matters. The two Houses could agree in taking away the Star Chamber, and in the impeachments of the bishops, but when the Bills for restraining the clergy from secular affairs (which vacated the seats of the bishops in the Upper House), and for securing true religion were sent up, the Lords threw them out, and proposed to legislate for a Church *in nubibus*, by drawing up a declaration that no religion should be tolerated in his Majesty's dominions in England and Ireland "but what is, or shall be, established by the laws of the kingdom."

Another obstacle to agreement was that the unity of the Church reformers, who were an overwhelming majority in the beginning of Parliament, had ceased. A considerable number of the more aristocratic Members, attached to Episcopacy, remained true to the Church of their forefathers, desirous only to reform its liturgy and

Split among the Church Reformers.

government. Not that they bated one jot of their efforts to promote the spiritual regeneration of the parishes. "God knows all our hearts," said Sir John Wray, in a speech before Parliament (November 12, 1640), "and takes notice of our inward resolutions, and for what reasons we come hither, if not to propagate the Gospel." "The Church must have the first fruits of the Parliament," said Sir Edward Dering, in presenting a petition from distressed ministers in Kent, "as being the first in weight and worth, and more immediately to the honour of God and His glory, every drachm whereof is worth the whole weight of the kingdom." But a large proportion of the Members were thoroughly opposed to episcopacy in any form, groping their way to a solution of the religious difficulty in contentions between Presbytery, Independency, or the simple Erastianism of government of religion by orders of Parliament.

Loyalty to the Church drew many influential Members to the Royalist camp. They were not prepared to accomplish reform in the Church by abolishing the bishops, or reform in the State by the destruction of kingly prerogative. As a consequence the House was decimated, and the majority was left with a free hand to deal with the conduct of the war and the settlement of religion. The new Protestantism had disappeared as completely as the old Puritanism. Henceforth there sprang up independent congregations all over the country, owning no allegiance to any central ecclesiastical body, each one self-governing as far as creed and form of worship were concerned. Rous and some of the earlier reformers, however, were still true to their object, endeavouring to obtain it in the midst of the revolutionary changes. "A good minister in every parish" was the goal they aimed at, working for years to come on committees that eventually reached it as an organised system of commissions under the control of the Parliament.

The Church Adrift.

In the meantime there was chaos. The Church was adrift. The fetters it had imposed on free discussion were removed, and all around sprang up new teachers, broaching novel doctrines, not always simple enough to be understood "by wayfaring men, though fools." Imagine the perplexities of the vicars of the parishes! Courts

abolished, the bishops in the Tower, the supreme head of the Church a belated monarch—to whom could they look for help and guidance. Only to the Parliament. Questions relating to parish disputes and vacant livings were temporarily settled by orders of the House, or by references to committees with power to act. Every conceivable want or complaint of the parishes was referred to the Parliament by petition, exciting the merriment of the wits. It was said that one petitioner complained that the vicar taught in the pulpit, "that we ought to learn to dance, for if we could not dance we were damned." Another that their preacher had said, "if the people were not satisfied with a sermon a day they could go to the devil for another." A third complained against the extreme licence of the common people, ridiculous conventicles, and preaching by tradesmen, eliciting the comment that the tradesmen did but take up the duty which the prelates let fall—preaching the Gospel. Church government in all its details had devolved upon the only authority in the country. Very soon Parliament found it was as difficult to institute a new establishment as it had been to reform the old, grappling with the difficulty by doing without either alternative; legislating on the lines of propagation of the Gospel by Parliamentary committees. Church virtually disappears, and Parliament takes care of religion in its stead.

Numerous Committees for Resolving Religious Difficulties.

It is almost impossible to follow the long sequence of committees appointed by the House in their attempts to discover some way out of the ever-increasing religious difficulties. There were committees for the suppression of divers innovations in and about the worship of God, for the better advancement of preaching, for the better maintenance of the ministry, for perusing the Irish Catechism in Latin and English (probably in search of a creed), for prohibiting pluralities of benefices, for the removal of scandalous ministers, and for considering the fittest way for relief of such godly and well-affected ministers as have been plundered; and also to consider what persons have benefices here and about this town, whose livings be sequestered, that they might supply their cures and receive the profits.

As time went on, and the House became absorbed in providing for the necessities of the Civil War, religious questions,

even down to the petitions of aggrieved ministers or their parishioners, were passed over to this latter committee, called the "Plundered Ministers' Committee," with power to settle them. The Preaching Ministers' Committee had lapsed, owing to the depletion of the House, many of its members having thrown in their lot with the Royalist cause. For years to come the journals of the House and the minutes of the Council of State were full of references to its successor. Throughout the long period of the sittings of the Assembly of Divines, and its attempts to establish Presbytery, the committee continued its oversight of the parishes, only ceasing its work when it became absorbed in the commissions of the Protectorate.[19]

Plundered Ministers' Committee.

After much debate, before the various committees had time to report, the two Houses came to an agreement to refer the problem of future Church government and ritual to an assembly of godly and learned divines, passing a declaration[20]: "The Lords and Commons declare that they intend a due and necessary reformation for the government and liturgy of the Church, and to take nothing in the one or the other but what shall be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary or burdensome. And for the better effecting thereof speedily to have consultations with godly and learned divines. And because this will never of itself attain the end sought herein, they will use their utmost endeavours *to establish learned and preaching ministers with a good and sufficient maintenance* throughout the whole kingdom; wherein many dark corners are miserably destitute of the means of salvation, and many poor ministers want necessary provision."

Calling the Assembly of Divines.

Thus the two Houses formally undertook the work of the religious reformers of the first Parliaments of Charles. For many a day Rous, Rudyerd, and others of the survivors, would be engaged in the efforts for its successful accomplishment.

[19] The minute books of the Plundered Ministers' Committee for 1644-54, preserved in the libraries of the British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and in the Record Office, contain thousands of orders, showing how continuous and all-pervading were its operations throughout the country. [20] The Declaration was printed on a single leaf. Three copies of it are to be found in one volume of the King's Pamphlets.

CHAPTER III.

PRESBYTERIAN COMPLICATIONS.

Meeting of the Assembly.

On July 1, 1643, the Assembly of Divines met in King Henry VIII.'s Chapel (the Jerusalem Chamber), in the City of Westminster. There had been on the previous Wednesday a public fast, when by order of Parliament every minister of every parish throughout the country had been required in their prayers before the sermon to earnestly and particularly pray for the assistance and blessing of God on the Assembly. Owing to the deadlock occasioned by the refusal of the King to assent to the Bills sent up to him, those previously passed for "calling the Assembly" had failed to become law. Finally Parliament had proceeded by ordinance, nominating seventy-five clerical members—thirty-eight rectors, twenty-one vicars, and sixteen other ministers, with a sprinkling of lay members. From the first a purely consultative committee, strictly under the direction of Parliament to report every proposition they resolved upon to the two Houses for approval.

Articles of Religion.

A day or two after its meeting Rous, who became the medium of communication between the Houses and Assembly, then and long afterwards, went up to the Lords for concurrence to a proposition from the Assembly concerning the first ten articles of theThirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Evidently the original object of the Divines was a reconstruction of the national Church upon the old fundamentals. But the parish ministers, who were chiefly composed of Calvinistic reformers, with Presbyterian tendencies, had in view a reformed Church of England, probably on a similar basis to that of the reformed Churches in Holland and France. Consequently nothing

came from the consideration of the Articles. No agreement could be arrived at between Lords and Commons, and the long game of cross purposes commenced, which continued throughout the whole existence of the Assembly, who were ordered to compare the opinions of Antinomians with the Word of God and the Articles of the Church of England. Time was thus wasted over the consideration of doctrine when, on the fall of the hierarchy, the imperative needs were the reconstruction of the machinery of Church government, the amendment of the forms of worship hallowed by the practice of three generations of English Protestants, and the solution of the difficulty of providing fitting liberty for the fast-increasing Nonconformity resulting from the prevalence of religious earnestness. Had this course been adopted the Book of Common Prayer, as far as morning and evening service was concerned, would scarcely have changed its face, except that references to royalty and episcopacy had been struck out of it. The country parishes would have gladly retained the old ritual with all its hallowed associations. There was a grand opportunity for the compromise usually accompanying English progress. It was missed.

In deference to the Divines, Parliament ordered that the Plundered Ministers' Committee should not nominate to any parsonage or benefice unless approved by the Assembly, at the same time giving the Committee authority to examine ministers, power to induct into their livings, and instructions to nominate in every parish certain persons that, with constables and churchwardens, should care for the better observance of the Sabbath. It was apparent that whatever might be the outcome of the deliberations in the Jerusalem Chamber, Parliament would insist on retaining an unfettered control of the parishes.

The Parliamentary Committees had already made sweeping changes in the ministry of the parishes, especially in the City of London. Some hundreds of "godly ministers" had been nominated to succeed Laudian and Royalist incumbents. To complete the work of ecclesiastical revolution, without waiting for the decisions of the Assembly, the Lords and Commons abolished the Episcopate, and ordered the sale of lands and properties of the bishops, deans, and chapters, for the benefit of the State. Then they proceeded to clear the churches of every

vestige of the sacerdotalism introduced by Laud during the reign of *jure divino*. By ordinances of August 28, 1643, and May 9, 1644, "the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun to remove all things illegal in the worship of God," it was enacted that all representations of any Persons of the Trinity, or of any Angel or Saint, in or about any cathedral, collegiate or parish church or chapel within the kingdom shall be taken away and utterly demolished. That the chancel ground of such church or chapel raised for any altar or any communion table to stand upon, shall be laid down and levelled, and that no copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods, or holy water founts shall be any more used. That no cross, crucifix, picture, or representation of the Persons of the Trinity, or of any Angel or Saint shall be used in or about the worship of God."

Ordinances for the Destruction of Images and Altars.

The ordinances were not "to extend to any image, picture, or coat of arms, in glass, stone, or otherwise set up and graven only for a monument of any king, prince or nobleman." Churchwardens and deans for the time being were authorised to carry out the instructions, and to see "that any damage to the walls, windows, grounds, and other places which shall be impaired or altered by any of the means aforesaid shall be made up and repaired in good and sufficient manner in all and every of the said parish churches, chapels or cathedrals."

Unhappily, these drastic instructions were carried out in numerous instances by disorderly mobs, instead of deans and churchwardens. Scenes of violence and wilful destruction were witnessed all over the kingdom, the evidences of which are seen to the present day. The rectors and incumbents of the parishes looked on helplessly. To the Episcopal clergy it was a final notice to quit. Towards the close of the year the Moderate Intelligencer reported: "There is such a great want of preachers in the remoter counties that there are thousands of parishes in which are either malignant ministers or none at all." Another journal complained that "the rebels' church work goes on prosperously as most fit in the counties near London; for in Hertfordshire and Essex churches are so defaced, and their clergy so universally imprisoned and banished, that it is six or

Parish Disorders.

seven weeks before infants can be christened. The Parliamentary Scout estimated that out of nine thousand parishes in England, not more than a thousand were supplied with learned and pious ministers.

Such was the condition of the country when the Assembly attempted to reconstitute a national Church on the ruins of the old hierarchy, and to evolve an organised system, controlled by Parliament, providing for the education and induction of a learned and efficient ministry. But political events put an end to the object it had in view. The Civil War had so far resulted in advantage to the Royalists. It was found necessary for Parliament to strengthen itself by an alliance with the Scotch. Commissioners were sent to Scotland, who learned on their arrival that their neighbours were willing to send a helping army into England. But they stipulated for a price. In addition to paying the expenses, subscription to the Covenant must be enforced throughout England as it had been in Scotland. Parliament also undertaking to establish conformity in religion in the two kingdoms. With some little alteration in the Solemn League and Covenant in regard to tender consciences, the onerous terms were accepted: £100,000 was paid at once, and the English Government was committed to a church based on Scotch Presbyterial doctrine and discipline. Parliament orders the Assembly of Divines to treat with their brethren in Scotland concerning Church government, directory of worship, confession of faith, and form of catechism. No longer a mere consultative committee to aid the Parliament in finding a settlement of religion, but entrusted with the task of drawing up a scheme of doctrine and ritual as agreed upon by the treaty with the Scotch Commissioners.

The Scotch Alliance.

Agreement for a National Presbytery.

If the religious reformers were ever to attain their object of relieving the spiritual destitution of the Kingdom it seemed that it must be now through a national Presbyterian church, requiring strict conformity. But might not the provision for the propagation of the Gospel still be controlled by Parliament? Certainly that was the expectation of Rous, for he immediately took an active part, not only in the Assembly of which he was a lay member, but in the work of the Parliamentary Committees for regulating the parishes and providing for the ministers. And

thus while the Assembly began their almost interminable debates upon points of doctrine and upon claims to *jure divino,* Parliament through the Committee for Plundered Ministers continued to administer to the religious needs of the nation. What the Assembly might have done had not their task been limited to a definition of doctrine, and propositions for Church government subject to the civil power, it is impossible to suggest. What they did *not* do was to establish Presbyterian conformity in England. What they did was to endow their Scotch brethren with the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, and with Articles of religion in a Confession of Faith that for thoroughness and logical acumen have never been surpassed in the history of the Christian Church.

Metrical Version of the Psalms.

And they gave the Scotch people the Metrical Version of the Psalms by Francis Rous, whose verses are now sung in what is called the Scotch Psalter to the present day. For weeks and months his Metrical Psalms were read and passed by the Assembly one by one every morning until the work was completed. The discursive talk around the Hebrew song-writers, shared in by the acute and learned Selden, the philosophic and poetic Rous, and Master Henderson, the "main stickler" for Scottish doctrine and discipline, must have been amusing if not edifying.

Bitter Discussions.

During the year 1644 the whole aspect of the question of Church government having undergone a complete change, the House and Assembly, instead of determining upon the reformation and reconstruction of the old Church, drastic as the propositions had been, went further, under the influence of the Scotch Presbyterians, and insisted upon the total extirpation of every vestige of the government and ritual connected with episcopacy. The majority of the Assembly, claiming for presbytery *jure divino,* proceeded to act on that assumption. They asserted Church prerogative as emphatically as Laud had done in the days of the Star Chamber. But they soon found they were exceeding their powers. The House was not prepared to let Church government slip out of its hands, and the Independents boldly stepped in to defend freedom for tender consciences. They had put a meaning into the old watch-word Right of Religion. To them it was the right of every man to worship God in his own way, without the intervention of

priest or king. Godwin and Nye, and their handful of adherents, mindful of the oath taken by all the menbers of the Assembly that they would not maintain anything in matters of doctrine and discipline but what they thought in their conscience would most conduce to the glory of God and the good and peace of the Church, sounded an alarm. There were bitter discussions on tender consciences. It was wittily remarked that "on Wednesday last there grew so kindly a heat between Master Nye and Master Henderson, that the Moderator could not possibly reduce them to any calmness, Master Nye eagerly urging against the Scottish discipline as not agreeable to the Word of God, and Master Henderson pressing to have Master Nye turned out of the Assembly, which is Master Henderson's usual way of confutation."[21]

Turmoil of Conflicting Opinion.

The heat in the Assembly spread itself in pulpit and press. The political "Mercuries," and other newspapers, found space between their news of the Civil conflict and their foreign intelligence for comments and criticisms on the proceedings of the divines. Swarms of pamphlets appeared. But the current of public opinion still ran strongly in the direction of intolerance of toleration. Rutherford asserted that no church of believers destitute of an eldership had "the power of the keys." A letter from Edinburgh conceived that toleration was the chiefest cause of all the present judgments. The City, favouring Presbytery, petitioned that some strict and speedy course should be taken for suppressing all private and separate congregations, and that all such as conform not to the public discipline be proceeded against. Edwards, the anti-Independent, published a narrative of three hundred pages, "full of such bitter invectives that it was questioned whether any good man ever vented so much malice against others whom he acknowledged to be pious and religious persons."

There were, however, pleas for liberty of conscience "in a church way." Owen claimed fitness for ministerial and other church work outside ecclesiastical organisations. "It is not to be doubted," said a humble address to Parliament and Assembly, "that they will concur to preserve whatever shall appear to be the right of particular congregations, according to the Word, and

[21] Mercurius Aulicus.

to bear with such whose consciences cannot in all things conform to the public rule." Roger Williams, of Rhode Island, advocated a toleration of all sorts and conditions of religious profession. He took much the same ground as the writer of "the Humble Petition of the Brownists." It was evident that more liberal views were finding exponents as time went on. So far, they had not influenced the Parliament; for the House passed an Ordinance "that Mr. White do give order for the public burning of one Williams his book, entitled Concerning all Sorts of Religion." The author received equally bad treatment from the Puritan settlers in New England.

In the midst of this turmoil of conflicting public opinion, the Assembly were at work on the matter of ordination of ministers.

Ordination of Ministers.

It was not until eight months after their meeting that they came to a decision upon it. The necessity of some rule had become so pressing that Parliament took up the work by appointing twenty-three persons to examine candidates for the ministry in the City of London. This was its idea of fitness: "Skill in original tongues by reading of Hebrew and Greek testaments and rendering them into Latin; skill in logic and philosophy; what authors had been read, showing knowledge how to defend the orthodox religion; frame a discourse in Latin upon some common-place or controversy in divinity, and maintain a dispute thereon."[22] A very tardy method for the planting of good ministers in every parish in the kingdom! Possibly, apart from London, the country was not greatly interested in the disagreements between an Erastian House of Commons and a rigidly orthodox Calvinistic Assembly. Men were more concerned with the news from Marston Moor than in the ordination of ministers or the doctrinal points of a catechism. So while the old Church was crumbling to pieces,[23] and the new Church was yet in the clouds, while jarring discords were

[22] E 348. [23] The neglect into which the Church had fallen is thus described in "The Preacher's Plea," published at this time. "It is computed that there are in the kingdom 9,200 parish churches and upwards, wherof near 4,000 are impropriate churches. Besides, many parsonages are poor, and unable to give entertainment to a godly and diligent teacher, as being abridged and spoiled under pretence of long leases, and rate tithes instead of tithes in kind. In some places £8, £6, and £5 10s. per annum is the pastor's entertainment for himself and family. There are at this

characteristic of the purest society and a bestial coarseness the disgrace of the populace, the nation had to be content for a time with an order in Parliament to examine candidates in the ministry in Hebrew and Greek, in logic and philosophy!

Even the members of the Assembly were beginning to be dissatisfied with their scant progress. Baillie drew the veil. He blamed the House, "for though it had passed the whole doctrinal part of ordination, and their Scripture grounds for it, only the extraordinary way of ordination had been chosen, and in that very part had been scraped out whatever might displease the Independents or Selden and others, who will no discipline at all in any church *jure divino*, but only on the free will and pleasure of Parliament." The House was not to be moved from that position. It was presently announced: "The Parliament, who in all their ways have God's glory before their eyes, are now drawing up an order for the ordination of ministers, in which they are exceedingly careful to settle an able and orthodox ministry, such as are learned and taken degrees in the University, for every one before he be received into orders.[24] Shortly after Parliament sanctioned a scheme for ministerial ordination, with a clause legalising the ordinations that had previously taken place.[25]

Parliament Asserts its Prerogative.

present two and thirty parishes in this City (London) utterly destitute of any pastors. To instance, in Buttolp, Aldersgate (saving £7 or thereabouts, given by Edward VI., very hardly paid), and did not the vicinity of other churches in this most populous City hold forth some ease and accommodation to supply the want of deserted churches aforesaid, the inhabitants there must necessarily have been reduced into as sad a state as those in the country." [24] Perfect Occurrences. [25] "There was a special day of humiliation kept in Aldermanbury," said the True Informer, describing one of these previous ordinations, "for the ordination of ministers, which were then solemly performed. Two sermons were preached, on the conclusion of which Mr. Christopher Love to be teacher of the garrison at Windsor, Mr. Paul Lathom, to be pastor of a congregation in Lancashire, and six others to be pastors and assistants in several counties, were set apart for the work of the ministry. Questions propounded: 1. They were required to give an account of their faith in the Lord Jesus. 2. To declare their judgment as to work of the ministry. 3. To state the prime motives inducing them to the work of the ministry. 4. To give their resolutions to be diligent in prayer, reading, meditation, and preaching. 5. To maintain their readiness to maintain the truth of the Gospel against all opposition. 6. To make public profession before the whole congregation. Then the selected ministers laid their hands on those set apart."

The next step of the Assembly was in the direction of Church ritual. On January 1, 1645, Rous carried up to the Lords for their concurrence the ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing a Directory for the public worship of God in the three kingdoms in place thereof. On January 3 he was on committee to consider Lords Amendments. Soon settled, for the date of the ordinance is on the same day; and for the following three weeks he was engaged on preparing the orders to the counties to publish the Directory and put it into present execution.

Directory of Public Worship.

The new substitute for the English Prayer Book was a mere rubric. From beginning to end it evidenced that Parliament had more to do with its production than the Assembly of Divines. It was entirely unsectarian. Little or no reference was made in it to Episcopacy or Presbytery, or even to creed. The book consisted of directions to ministers and people in the conduct of a very simple religious service, and for the administering of the sacrament. The congregations were to assemble orderly in a grave and seemly manner, and to take their seats and places without adoration or bowing themselves towards one place or other. The minister to begin the service with extempore prayer in all reverence and humility, in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ. After reading the Scriptures a psalm was to be sung, followed by the long prayer to be used chiefly in the confession of sin; although the minister might defer some part of the petition until after the sermon, when he should pray for all in authority, especially the King's Majesty, for the conversion of the Queen and the religious education of the Prince, the comforting of the Queen of Bohemia and the Elector Palatine, and for a blessing on the High Court of Parliament, the judges, gentry and commonalty, and universities and schools.

After the Directory had passed out of the hands of Parliament it was soon seen to be a document that would give little satisfaction to an ecclesiastic. Presbyterian, or any other kind of Church government, was not even mentioned, still less prayed for. The House so far met the Assembly as to admit their propositions to be bound up with the Directory, but only as "humble advice." It was not likely that the nation would take kindly to the rubric of the Directory, and accept it in the place

of the beloved old liturgy, which had expressed its holiest hopes and aspirations. The Book of Common Prayer must have been regretfully parted with in public devotions, "Adieu, dear crutch, thou hast helped many a lame priest over the stile, who now is and will be fain to get instead of his paper crutch a wooden one, and go a-begging, for pray he cannot without. And must it be laid aside?"[26] "This day the Lords sent down the new Directory; we wish it will content all parties. We pray also that the people may not rest in this form, and think that discipline is religion, and Presbytery or Independency is godliness, a disease almost universal throughout Christendom; but that we may add to this shell, or sheath, or bark, or superficies of religion, the power of godliness and a holy life."[27]

Following the substitution of the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer, the Assembly entered upon the business of excommunication, and in the discussion of it came into direct conflict with Parliament. At first, judging from the current literature, the two Houses were absorbed in the enumeration of sins. "This was a happy day in the Assembly, for there was unanimous agreement both of Presbyterians and Independents in point of excommunication. If they agree so well in that, in all probability we shall live in excellent harmony and accord.[28] "The House of Commons spent much time about the Church, concerning which they sat the whole day in a grand Committee of the whole, and have now finished enumerating of sins—for the present."[29] "Lords passed the list of sins, the commission of which, either in point of ignorance or scandal, would enable the elderships to suspend from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper."[30]

Excommunication.

As the year came to a close the conflict continued. The Assembly claimed that the power to excommunicate was a spiritual one and lay with the elders of the Church. It insisted upon the right divine of the elderships to be sole judges of ecclesiastical offences. But the Parliament would not listen to the clerical assumption for a moment. It refused to allow the elders to suspend from the sacrament except in matters of scandal to be referred to the House for sanction, and ordered that the

[26] Moderate Intelligencer. [27] Parliamentary Scout. [28] Parliamentary Scout. [29] Perfect Passages of Parliament. [30] True Informer.

choice of elders in Congregational and classical presbyteries in London should rest only on its authority, appointing a committee to give the order effect, not only in London but in the provinces. So strictly was all power retained by the Parliament that the House resolved that the Presbyteries or elderships should not have cognisance of anything wherein any matter of payment, contract, or demand was concerned; nor any matter of conveyance, title or interest in property, land, or goods. In fact, the House treated the claims of the elderships to exercise "the power of the keys" with the same contempt as the reformers had treated the pretension of Divine right by the Star Chamber; and from this time began to negotiate with the Assembly with a scant courtesy. Baillie notes that upon a motion of Dr. Burges that in case the House should be so busy that they could not speak with Mr. Rous or Mr. Tate, who had been sent with a letter from the Assembly, that liberty might be given to a deputation to go to the Bar of the House and deliver it themselves. The answer returned was that "the House is on extraordinary business, and therefore cannot speak with them." The House did not much affect to be troubled about our letters, adds Baillie.

House Protests against Divine Right of Elderships.

The Assembly had reluctantly to acknowledge the supremacy of Parliament even in doctrinal matters. The divines referred to the House a pamphlet containing "scandalous and blasphemous heresy, 'Comfort for Believers in their Sins and Troubles.'"[31] Parliament ordered "this abominable outcome of predestination," this comfort for believers, to be publicly burnt by the common hangman, some in Cheapside, in Palace Yard, in Smithfield, Paul's Church Yard, and the Exchange. And then the House instructed the Assembly to find a way for toleration! and ordered, not for the first time, "that Committees of Parliament and Assembly should take into consideration the differences of opinion in point of Church government, and to endeavour the union if possible. But in case that could not be done, to endeavour to find out some way how far tender consciences, who

Endeavouring to find a way for Toleration.

[31] "Comforts for Believers against their Fears and Dismayings. Christian Experiences from Scripture Evidences." By Richard Coler, Preacher of the Word at Broughton, in Hampshire.

cannot in all things submit to the common rule which shall be established, may be borne with according to the Word, and as may stand with the public peace, that so proceedings of the Assembly may not be so much retarded." This tergiversation of Parliament in its treatment of the question of toleration is evidence that it understood the word in its literal meaning, "a suffering of that which was not approved of." It would be tender of conscience, whilst exerting its power to suppress false doctrine. It had yet to learn that it could not consistently both permit and approve, condemn and punish, at the same time.

The order to find out a way for permitting religious liberty, whilst condemning the doctrine of predestination as abominable, was in the same words as were used in a similar order issued twelve months before, when the Assembly was directed to meet the Scotch Commissioners to find a way for toleration. A way had not been found; indeed the Assembly had sent a communication to the House (Parliament declared it to be scandalous) in quite an opposite direction, claiming *jure divino* for strict Presbyterian conformity. The question remained unsolved, notwithstanding that many attempts were made to settle it outside the Assembly, and although it was reported that "the City ministers met at Zion College, and presented propositions for the satisfaction of the dissenting brethren, and to prevent scandal and former miscarriages.[32] The "whole body of London ministers assembled at Zion College," so far from helping Parliament to a wider religious liberty, declared against "that great Diana of the Independents, so much cried up by them in these distracted times, viz., a *toleration*, a *toleration!* Our bowels, our bowels, are stirred within us, and we could even drown ourselves in tears when we call to mind how long and sharp a travail this kingdom hath been in for many years together to bring forth the blessed fruit of a pure and perfect reformation; and now at last, after all our pangs and dolours and expectations, the real and thorough reformation is in danger of being strangled in the birth by a lawless toleration that strives to be brought forth before it."

The London Presbyterians, like their Scotch brethren, regarded any approach to religious liberty as a sin against the Holy Ghost.

[32] Moderate Intelligencer.

They had considerable influence in the Parliament, and succeeded, owing to its distracted councils, in continually thwarting any progress towards providing for tender consciences. On April 26 it was ordered by the Lords and Commons, "That no person be admitted to preach who is not ordained." As no ordination was legal except the Presbyterian, the ordinance shut out all Independents, Baptists and others from public preaching. In the following year, finding that the ordinance was not obeyed, the Commons passed another resolution declaring "that they dislike and will proceed against all such persons as shall take upon them to preach or expound the Scriptures in any church or chapel, or any other public place, except they be ordained, either here or in some other reformed church. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c., were by all lawful means to prevent offences of this kind, and inflict due punishment in case of disobedience.

The claim of the Presbytery to divine right met with little public sympathy: "We would wish that all men would seriously consider whether the causes of all differences in church and state do not arise from the claims of *jure divino*. If men be persuaded from doing that which Scripture and reason clearly condemns, and punished if they do it; we may no doubt have a kingdom, a church, a nation, such as the world cannot show. As for who takes care of this, or by what right, it's no great matter." [33]

Presbyterian System Sanctioned for London.

The year 1646 opened with another instalment towards the establishment of Presbytery. Parliament had already prepared the way for it by sanctioning the formation of the Presbyterian system in London. A committee was appointed for putting Whitefriars and all other provinces [suburbs] formerly exempted in London under classis and elderships. A month afterwards it was resolved that there be forthwith a choice of elders thoughout the kingdom of England. In March the ordinance was issued, in which the clause is added that in every province persons shall be chosen by the Houses of Parliament who shall be Commissioners to judge of scandalous offences; the power of the keys being thus refused to the Presbyteries. The Assembly objected, and claimed anew the authority of the elderships in matters of Church discipline. Parliament declared the matter contained in the "printed paper"

[33] Moderate Intelligencer.

to be false and scandalous, refuting the pretensions of Presbytery to exercise independent authority with as much vigour as Henry the Eighth did the pretensions of the Pope. A committee was nominated to consider the "printed paper" as a breach of the privileges of the House, and to prepare questions as to the claims of the Assembly to the divine right of Presbytery. They were to be categorically answered.

Searching Questions.

"Whereas all persons guilty of notorious and scandalous offences are to be suspended from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the House desires to be satisfied by the Assembly on these particulars: (1) Whether parochial and congregational elderships appointed by order of Parliament are *jure divino?* (2) Whether all the members of the said elderships are *jure divino;* if not, which of them? (3) Whether supreme assemblies, or any of them, are *jure divino?* (4) Whether powers of suspension from the Sacrament are *jure divino?* (5) Whether there is anything in Scripture against the supreme Magistracy determining offences? To these questions a reply was demanded to be given without equivocation, and it was ordered "that every particular minister of the Assembly that is or shall be present at the debate of any of these questions, do upon every resolution that shall be presented to the House concerning the same, subscribe his respective name, either in the affirmative or negative, as he gives his vote; and that those who dissent from the major part set down their positive opinions, with the express text of Scripture upon which their opinion is founded.[34]

Following these stringent requests, a committee was appointed to assert and vindicate the rights and privileges of Parliament by a Declaration, to be sent also to the Scotch Commissioners. The Declaration stated that "Concerning Church governments, having spent so much time, taken so much pains, for the settlement of it, passed most of the particulars brought to us from the Assembly of Divines (called to advise of such things as shall be required of them by both or either Houses of Parliament) without any material alteration, saving in the point of commissioners; and having published several ordinances for putting the same in execution, because we cannot consent to the granting of an arbitrary and unlimited

Declaration against the vast Power claimed by Presbytery.

[34] E 506.

power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatures to be erected within this kingdom, and this demanded in such a way as is not consistent with the laws and government of the same, and by necessary consequence excluding the power of the Parliament of England in the exercise of that jurisdiction, and whereof we have received no satisfaction in point of conscience or prudence; nor have we yet resolved how a due regard may be had that tender consciences, which differ not in fundamentals of religion, may be so provided for as may stand with the Word of God and the peace of the kingdom. It must seem very strange to us, therefore, if any sober and modest man should entertain a thought that there should settle no government in the Church, when our unwillingness to subject ourselves and the people in this land to this vast power, hath been a great cause that the Government hath not long since been established. And we desire it may be observed that we had the more reason by no means to part with this power out of the hands of the civil magistrate, since the experience of all ages will manifest that the reformation and purity of religion, and the preservation of the people of God in this kingdom, hath under God been by Parliament and their exercise of this power."[35] Shortly after the Lords and Commons agreed upon a Declaration giving religious liberty to the Baptists, for the following reasons: "But for opinion against the baptism of infants, it is only a difference about a circumstance of time in the administration of an ordinance. . . . And although we could wish that all men would satisfy themselves, we hold it fit that men should be convinced by the Word of God with great gentleness and reason, and not beaten out of it by force and violence."

The Committee that drew up the first of the declarations was a representative one: Rous, bent on parish regeneration by the direct agency of Parliament, and not particular as to the means of accomplishing it; Selden, with his legal mind intent on the liberty of the subject; D'Ewes, the dry-as-dust authority for Parliamentary precedent; and the fiery Sir Arthur Haslerigge, the opponent of arbitrary government, anxious to keep the sword subservient to the civil power, were all agreed in protesting against the "vast power" claimed by the presbytery, and were

[35] Perfect Diurnall.

ready to follow the lead of the earlier religious reformers in their attempts to plant a good minister in every parish irrespective of any ecclesiastical organisation exerting the power of the keys. They were not anxious to plant a presbytery in every parish. They had swept away one spiritual power insisting upon uniformity, and were not prepared to institute another.

It was due to the Scotch Commissioners that Parliament should explain their change of front, since they had covenanted to secure conformity of religion in the two kingdoms. It now stated that its ground for the change was its determination not to endeavour conformity, but to institute a system of Church government which would admit variety of thought and practice among evangelical Christians. It had "resolved that a due regard should be had that tender consciences, which differ not so much in fundamentals of religion, should be so provided for as may stand with the Word of God and the peace of the kingdom."

Parliament's Reasons for declining Presbyterian Conformity.

Parliament had given up all hope of obtaining this object by Presbytery. Henceforth zealous Presbyterians might set up classis and choose their elders, and even receive Parliamentary sanction for their churches and synods; but they would only occupy the position of Independents, Baptists, and others, who agreed in the fundamentals of the Christian religion. The decision of the House was speedily followed by the revival of the Committee to consider how a preaching ministry might be settled throughout the whole kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and by an order that the House do take into consideration the great business of spreading the Gospel, and the settling and providing maintenance for learned and preaching ministers.

Only in a permissive sense was the Presbytery ever established in England. That it was based on a national compliance can scarcely be maintained. Setting aside the proscribed royalists and papists, there were many districts in England where, if the people had been polled, the majority would have been found in favour of the Book of Common Prayer and the old ritual.[36] Even

[36] Two-thirds of the Episcopal clergy of the county (Bedfordshire) remained undisturbed in their livings all through the Commonwealth.—Brown's "Life of Bunyan."

in London, the Presbyterian stronghold, the House learning that the Book of Common Prayer had been usually read in churches had to forbid the practice afresh. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, a Christmas service was held in spite of the law. News from Ipswich[37] and other parts of the country came that Christmas Day services were held in many churches by force, the church doors being kept with swords and other weapons, defensive and offensive, whilst the minister was in the pulpit. It was remarked in reference to disturbances at Peterborough Minster, and Wisbech, that the Presbyterian government had not been very fruitful, that wherein people had been bred they leave not easily, and that it was doubtful whether the new formality and the old ways would not equally result in the annihilation of the power of godliness. "It is considered by many that neither Jesus Christ nor His apostles did ever intend to leave believers an exact discipline, or Church discipline, which should be binding on Christians of all ages. But will you have no Church government? Yes, what the State and Parliament shall see fitting for the nation, and taken down, all differences would end."

Unpopularity of Presbytery.

The unpopularity of Presbytery was evidenced by the imprint on the title-page of a pamphlet:

> Printed in the yeare
> Of the Presbyterian feare, 1647.[38]

And in a satirical dialogue between "Senior John of the Old House, and Thomas Popgun," in which the former complained that the city and suburbs were encumbered with elders:

> *Thomas Popgun.*—Why dare you speak against elders?
> *Senior John.*—They spring up like so many thorns choking our wheat.
> *T.P.*—Why? do you not read of them in the apostles' time?
> *Sen. J.*—Yes, and in *Susannah's*, too![39]

The Presbyterian system was even far from being accepted by the active representatives of the great religious movement that had ultimately shaken down the throne and abolished the hierarchy. It was characteristically easy for the zealots of the

[37] Kingdom's Weekly Post. [38] Moderate Intelligencer. [39] E 387. As a retort, in the following year, The British Bellman was imprinted: "Printed in the Year of the Saints' Fear, Anno 1648."

Presbytery to class all those who differed from them under the heads of heretics or schismatics, and to object even to a limited toleration of one or more sects holding other views than themselves in matters of doctrine and discipline. But all the vigour and life of the prevailing agitation were in the men who in their new-found freedom of thought had arrived at opposite conclusions to those of Rome and Canterbury, and who reasoned out for themselves their views of doctrine, church government, the status of the ministry, and the thousand and one questions that had never before reached the popular mind.[40] Dazed by the sudden light of liberty they might have been, and here and there men silly or worse may have disgraced themselves by immoral licence, but the whole drift of the time was in the direction of conscientiousness of religious belief.

There can be no doubt that the Parliament better understood the condition of the country than the Assembly of Divines. The machinery of Presbyterian Church order, in places where it was put in motion, was attached to a government brake, ready to be applied whenever it was not subordinated to the authority of Parliament or became offensive to tender consciences. Consequently all the efforts of Presbytery to effectuate a conformity utterly failed; and soon the House became dilatory in continuing their relations with the Assembly. Mr. Tate reported from the Committee on Church government "that for want of authority given by Parliament, no persons as yet have been elected, nor division made, of the several classical assemblies; and that returns from some counties, made according to the Speaker's letters, lie in the House and are not proceeded with." The House remained inactive. When a deputation came from the Assembly to call attention to the delay, "at the door of the House whither they had come" Mr. Rous met them with the message: "House is on important business: come on Thursday next."

Confessions of Faith.

The last and only permanent work of the Assembly was completed in the "Confession of Faith." When it reached the House, a large minority voted to retain the old title of "Articles of Religion," but they were outvoted by 61

[40] The setting forth of some part of truth, previously obscured or neglected, was the *raison d'être* of every sect that ever existed.—F. D. Maurice.

to 41. The Confession was adopted: and the existing Presbyterial arrangements for Church government were ordered to be continued for three years. A concurrent ordinance passed both Houses for repairing churches and for payment of church duties, by which parishioners of every parish were to elect churchwardens, who were empowered to levy a rate for reparation and maintenance in every parish in the kingdom.[41] Even in London, where the Presbyterian system was in full operation, a committee was appointed to "confer with the City" how an expedient might be found for settling maintenance of the preaching ministers in the City of London.

Then followed the ordinance sanctioning Nonconformity:

Ordinance Sanctioning Nonconformity.

"*Ordered,* that no persons whatsoever shall be liable to any question or penalty for nonconformity to the form of government and divine service appointed in the said ordinances [relating to Presbytery]; and all such persons as shall not conform to the said form of government and divine service, shall have liberty to meet for the service and worship of God, and for the exercise of religious duties and ordinances in any fit and convenient places." A veritable first step towards the accomplishment of religious liberty: lost at the Restoration, but partially retaken by the Constitution of 1688.

[41] Weekly Post.

CHAPTER IV.

TIMES OF CONFUSION.

The Prevalence of Intolerance.

THE resolution sanctioning Nonconformity was a step out from the darkness of intolerance into the twilight of religious liberty. Hitherto Christianity, whether pure or impure, had been disgraced by universal intolerance of differences in doctrinal belief. Presbytery and God-fearing legislatures had been no exception to the rule. While the Parliament was insisting that tender consciences should be respected, a pamphlet was delivered at the door of the House: "A Confession of Faith of Seven Congregations or Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly, but unjustly, called Anabaptists." The petitioners were forthwith ordered to be apprehended. A Bill was read first and second time (it did not reach its third stage) for punishing Charles Best with death by hanging him by the neck till he be dead for his obstinate denial of the Holy Trinity. The old anti-Papist laws were put in execution against one Morgan, alias Powell, who was arraigned and convicted for a priest, and hung, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. Proceedings were threatened against any taking upon themselves to speak or expound the Scriptures unless they were ordained, and a Bill was nearly passed prohibiting lay preaching. Cromwell told against it with success, the result being, Ayes, 105, Noes, 107, a very bare majority in favour of toleration.

Times of Confusion.

The current annals of the year 1648 have a curious kaleidoscopic appearance. Lancashire ministers published a "harmonious consent" to this judgment: "A toleration would be putting a sword in a madman's hand; a cup of

poison in the hand of a child; a letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands; and appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the Devil to fly to; a laying of a stumbling-block before the blind; a proclaiming of liberty to the wolves to come to Christ's fold and prey on the lambs." The Manchester ministers also published "a testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ, and to our solemn league and covenant, as also against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the *toleration* of them. . . . It is almost a sin against the Holy Ghost to be meal mouthed when such pernicious libertines poison the head of the household of faith." There was a war of pamphlets. "Liberty of Conscience Confuted," "Divine Right of Church Government Asserted," "Against Toleration of the Promiscuous Use of all Religious Sects and Heresies," following many on the other side taking the ground of the petition from Lancaster that every one might enjoy just freedom to worship God without any coercive or restrictive causes to the contrary. The King wrote hopefully to the Queen in an intercepted letter, little anticipating the near approach of his tragic fate: "The differences between the Scots and the Independents are increasing: be confident I will not desert the bishops and papists, thine and mine best friends." The Commons were occupied in definitions of the meaning of a text, and ordered that the Assembly should be desired its advice by way of resolve touching its opinions of the fifth verse of the Fifteenth Psalm.[42] A contemporary writer is jubilant: "The truth of God was never preached more clearly and gloriously since the Apostles' time (it is the judgment of many eminent Christians) in any part of the world than it is now in this kingdom, and that is the reason that many errors are discovered, though simple, ignorant people do not know it."[43] Yet it was deplorable to note that at the Lent Assizes at York, a woman was tried and condemned for crucifying her mother, and it is added that after perpetrating the horrid deed, she had offered a cock and a calf for burnt sacrifice. Her husband was hanged for being an accomplice, with twenty-one other men and women at the same time.[44]

[42] "He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward of the innocent." [43] E 427. [44] Seaham and Whellan's History of York.

Prominence of Rous in the Religious Movements.

During the whole of this chaotic time, a storm-tossed period, when the ship of State was drifting, no one knew how far from its ancient moorings, there was one man persistently pursuing, with a plodding industry, the object of his life in the evangelising of the parishes of the country by providing them with godly ministers. Francis Rous, who had been made Provost of Eton, with the proviso that the appointment did not vacate his seat in Parliament, was the ruling spirit of the Plundered Ministers' Committee that was gradually replacing scandalous incumbents by more efficient ministers, and remedying other ecclesiastical abuses. His labours must have been Herculean. The work of the most important of the Committees of the Long Parliament would have been enough to have absorbed the energies of any ordinary man; yet during the whole period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, there was scarcely a Committee having any reference to religion of which he was not a member. He took his share also in the multifarious political questions of his time. Between 1640 and 1645 he was appointed on two hundred and thirty select committees. In addition he had frequently to report on questions referred to him, to carry messages to the Lords, to be the medium of communication between the Houses and the Assembly of Divines, to thank the St. Margaret's preachers for their sermons before Parliament, and to attend conferences between the Lords and Commons and report them. His name appears in the Commons' journals hundreds of times, at least three hundred and twenty of these appearances being on his appointment to committees. For a year or two Pym or Selden might have surpassed him, but not one of his other contemporaries approached his continuous share in the legislative discussions.

His Broad Views.

Rous was singularly free from sectarianism. He had advocated spiritual reforms in conjunction with his fellow Episcopalians. Finding that the Church was hopelessly set against the great work of the Reformation, he turned to Presbytery, and when that failed was ready to accept the support of Cromwell and the Independents. His position is expressed in his writings: "From Christ's time place is approved by truth and not truth by place. He that freed true

worship from being tied to Jerusalem, and tied it to the service in spirit which may be in all places, gave true religion a large scope, even as large as the world itself." Firmly and resolutely opposed to kingly or priestly despotism, he looked upon variety of religious opinion as a matter of complexion. "Pity it is that the religion of many, or at least their zeal of it, is but their complexion."

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.

Far otherwise was it with his old friend, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, who had long passed his threescore years and ten, and had become an uncompromising adherent of Presbytery. After its failure to secure the powers it claimed, he lost his interest in what seemed to him to be the inextricable muddle into which public affairs had drifted. The last heard of this worthy knight was: "Mr. Speaker, we have sat thus long and are come to a fine pass, for the whole kingdom has become Parliament all over. The army hath taught us a good while what we ought to do; the city, country, and reformadoes teach us what we should do, and all because we ourselves know not what to do. Some men are so violent and strong in their own conceits that they think all others are dishonest which are not of their own opinions; but he that calls me knave because I differ from him in opinion is the verier knave of the two." Pride's Purge soon disposed of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. He retired to his house at Westwoodhay, and the Parliament knew him no more.

Of the group of patriot Members of the 1628 and 1640 Parliaments Rous alone was left to support Cromwell and his policy in matters of religion. Under the ruling power, a Council of State, the majority composed of Members of the House, Rous was presently found on committees for settling £20,000 per annum for the maintenance of preaching ministers, and for the consideration of the "Articles of the Christian Religion"! After the weary months and years of discussion in the Assembly, and the apparent settlement of doctrine, Parliament had already turned its back on the Westminster Confession and plunged afresh into theological warfare! Something better, however, was done in passing an Act for the propagation of the Gospel in New England among the Indians: "because news had come that through the blessing of God many of them had

forsaken their delusions and did call on the name of the Lord." The first of our foreign missionary societies was an established corporation by Act of Parliament. It did not emanate from a Church claiming a right Divine, but from the religious movement of which Rous was a leader.

Failure of Presbytery to Evangelise.

It was evident that appointing classis, presbyteries, and elderships throughout the Kingdom in districts where the first need was the missionary preacher, had proved a failure. Dr. Goodwin estimated that two-sevenths of the people could only be reckoned upon as supporting the Government in matters of religion. He accounted for the other five-sevenths by dividing them between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians. It would possibly have been a fairer estimate to take into account that a third of the people were indifferent altogether to religion. Of the rest, the larger number would have been the sectaries, as they were called, including Independents, Baptists, and Fifth Monarchy saints. Could there have been any better policy than first providing every parish with an efficient minister in dealing with such material? The House thought not. It proceeded with a fresh declaration concerning the maintenance of the ministry; and when it was moved that the Act touching the Presbyterial government be part of the declaration, it was negatived; and it was ordered to be referred to a committee "to review the book and orders settling Presbytery, and to bring it in with such alterations as they shall see fit, with lenity to tender consciences." The declaration was published in which the Parliament claimed "that they have done their part in propagating the Gospel and advancing the power and purity of religion in the Commonwealth; only they consider themselves obliged to take away all obstructions or hindrances to the growth of religion and power of godliness in the midst of us; and for this end they have now under consideration how such acts and ordinances, already in force, or any part of them, as they find penal or coercive in matters of conscience, which have been made use of for snares, burdens, and vexations to the truly sincere-hearted people of God, that fear Him, and wait for the coming of His Son Jesus Christ, may be taken away."[45] Parliament

[45] Ordinances of Parliament, 1517. K 15.

thus finally parted with the Presbyterian system of Church government.

It was easier to make a declaration than to carry out its purpose. Religious intolerance still pervaded the country. The Puritan advocated death-sentences against unbelievers in the doctrine of the Trinity; punished stealing, adultery, and murder, by hanging; would hale men and women to prison for breaking an ordinance forbidding to walk near the Exchange on Sunday; the Presbyterian fought tooth and nail for powers to excommunicate; the old Royalist, true to his Church, would only have been too happy to take by the throat the Roundhead who had rebelled against his King and defaced his churches. The Parliament preaching peace and toleration to the nation, seemed almost as absurd a proceeding as that of Laud haranging the members of an infuriated House of Commons at St. Margaret's on the "unity of the Spirit, and the bond of peace."

John Milton's "Clear Note."

Yet in the midst of the hurly-burly of conflicting opinions there were those who sounded a clear note against the prevailing discord, tracing it to its true cause: the aim of all parties to promote or compel conformity. "Look to it; the most faithful instruments of our nation's liberty had like to have been railed down not long since, and disabled by a full cry against heresy and error from prosecuting that good work which they had in hand, to free our bodies out of kingly, and our souls out of priestly bondage. . . . The last error in policy observable from the practices of most times and nations has been the persecuting and punishment of men for their opinions of religion. The error is grounded upon another asserted in all times by the furious drivers of the clergy, under every transition and revolution of outward forms—viz, that there ought to be an establishment of some certain chief heads, articles, and principles of faith, as fundamental and orthodox, which all men must be bound to hold and believe, or else incur the censure of heretics, schismatics, sectarians, &c. This position, under whatsoever disguise it come, with whatever pretences it be clothed, or by what persons soever it be owned, is, *ipso ratio formalis*, the very spirit and principle of the Pope and Antichrist. It hath been the dawn of the white devil

called ecclesiastical polity, a device subservient to that invertebrated project of national churches, which is in a word the interest not of Christ, but of the clergy; for these errors depend on one another as links in the same chain of darkness which hitherto hath shackled truth in its progress, bound up all the Christian world in ignorance, and hindered the propagation of the Gospel in its more glorious degrees and discoveries of light, life, and power." [46]

Fifth Monarchy.

The times of confusion reached a climax towards the close of the career of the Long Parliament. The rise of the Fifth Monarchists threatened the subversion of all institutions. A wave of Millenarianism had spread over the various sects. Once again, as had so often happened in the history of Christianity, the immediate approach of the second coming of Christ was ardently longed for and generally anticipated by religious enthusiasts. The expectation dominated over sectarian differences, and paralysed the efforts of the commonwealth statesmen. Business men began to arrange their ventures in view of the coming kingdom. In a pamphlet on trade a writer records his belief in the "Coming of Christ's Appearing in Glory, and it's shortly breaking forth." Anticipating the coming, "he knows of nothing more important than matters of trade, as tending to strengthen the position against all eventualities." [47] Independent congregations of the differing sects began to drop the use of their distinctive titles, claimed to be "inner sanctuaries," and called themselves by the general term of "Saints." The outside world called them Fifth Monarchists, who held the theory that there had been four great monarchies[48] succeeding each other in the world: Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman. The end of the last one was imminent, and the fifth monarchy was about to follow, heralded by the appearance

[46] Mercurius Politicus. Doubtless, John Milton, who was editing or contributing to it, 1649-51. [47] E fol. sheets 11. [48] "The Personal Reign of Christ upon Earth, in a treatise wherein is fully and largely laid open and proved that Jesus Christ together with the Saints shall visibly possess a monarchical state and kingdom in the world: which showeth—1. That there shall be such a kingdom. 2. The manner of it. 3. The duration of it. 4. The time when it is to begin. It will be about the year of Our Lord 1700, for it is to be about 40 years after 1650 or 1656." By Henry Archer, sometime preacher of All Hallows, Lombard Street.

of Christ in person, when the saints would rule over all in His Name. The prophecy of Daniel was to be immediately fulfilled: "the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom and possess the kingdom for ever and ever." They believed that to prepare the way for this kingdom drawing near it was their duty to take away all existing institutions, so as to make a clean sheet on which to write the glories of the Redeemer's Kingdom. What was the use of new institutions? or the altering of laws? He was coming! The millennium was the dream of the age. The dreamers were not only the raving zealots of Blackfriars, but more or less of all creeds and professions, who were paying the penalty of religious freedom by the wildest dreams of enthusiasts, accompanied by every ingenious definition of the eternal mysteries. It would be difficult to over-estimate the paralysing effect of the millennarian disintegrators. Their policy was to destroy all existing institutions—and wait!

Whilst the army was engaged at Dunbar or Worcester, and the saints were airing their visionary ideas at home, Parliament pursued the work of evangelising the parishes and defending a limited toleration. A committee was appointed to confer with Ministers and consider with them such proposals as should be offered for the better propagation of the Gospel, and report the same with their opinions thereon to the House. A kind of miniature Assembly over again; now not so much to settle matters of doctrine and discipline, as with the simple object, How best to propagate the Gospel. The conference resulted in the nomination of another committee to carry out its propositions. The House, in the meantime, had assured the Baptists, who had approached them with a petition, that they should have liberty and protection "as far as God would enable them to do it." An Act was passed for relief of religious and peaceable people from the rigour of former Acts of Parliament in matters of religion. Other Acts were brought in for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales, in Ireland, the four Northern counties, Bristol, Stamford, Winchester, Cambridge, Lincoln, Exeter, Hereford, Norwich, York, Cornwall, and Coventry. £20,000 per annum was voted, and trustees appointed for its distribution in the maintenance of ministers. And a committee was instructed to

Parliament endeavours the simple Propagation of the Gospel.

consider of some able persons in the several counties who might be authorised to examine, approve, and allow of persons, who being qualified with gifts for the ministry, and willing to enter upon the work, do scruple the form of ordination now settled, and to bring in an Act for the purpose.

The Act for the Better Propagating of the Gospel in Wales, passed February 22, 1650, empowered the Commissioners appointed to receive and dispose of all and singular rents, issues, and profits of all ecclesiastical livings, impropriations, and glebe lands within the counties which then were, or afterwards should be under sequestration, or in the disposal of Parliament; and out of them to order and appoint a constant yearly maintenance for such persons as should be recommended or approved for the work of the ministry, or education of children, and for such other ministers as were then residing in the said counties. Put into operation the Act proved to be more or less a failure.[49] A similar result attended the attempts to carry out the same methods for the propagation of the Gospel in the counties. The legislation was, however, undoubtedly another step towards the evangelisation of the parishes, foreshadowing the Commission for Approbation of Public Preachers of the Protectorate.

Proposals for Settlement of Religion.

Parliament could get no further in a progress towards the settlement of religion. It referred the subject to the General Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel, who met and conferred with numerous

[49] "Though it was calculated to do good, and proved of much benefit to the country, it was yet attended with many and considerable difficulties. The officiating clergy were generally unfit for their stations, and especially for the propagation of Christianity; numbers of them were extremely ignorant; most of them did not preach at all; and not a few were immoral, profane, and scandalous livers. It was not enough to silence and eject them; it was also necessary to replace them with pious and competent men, and here the greatest difficulty lay. It was in vain to apply to England or search the Universities for sober and learned preachers; they must also be acquainted with the Welsh language; and though many such were procured from time to time, yet they were after all far too few to supply the wants, or satisfy the demands of the country. To make up this deficiency in some measure, recourse was had to the encouragement, formation, and appointment of what are usually called lay preachers; consisting of such unlettered but intelligent and pious men from the different churches as had good gifts for public speaking; and hence arose those husbandmen and mechanics so often mentioned."—Dr. Richards of Lynn, quoted by D. Davies in Life of Vavasour Powell.

deputations, eventually bringing to the House the following proposals:

1. That persons of godliness not ordained may receive the public maintenance for preaching.
2. That no person be admitted for trial and approbation without testimony of piety and soundness of faith.
3. That commissioners for approbation be appointed in the several counties.
4. That the residue of scandalous ministers be excluded throughout England.
5. That commissioners be appointed to accomplish this object, adding to their duties the dividing and uniting of parishes.
6. That no person shall be required to take the Sacrament unless he shall see fit.
7. That a law be passed requiring all persons whatsoever to attend public preaching, except such persons as through scruple of conscience do abstain from these assemblies.

The House never arrived at an agreement on any of these proposals. It spent its time in discussion of amendments to them advocated by the ministers consulted, who sought to enforce conformity in fifteen doctrinal fundamentals. Cromwell and Rous were sick of the interminable wrangle caused by the attempts to define Christian doctrine by Acts of Parliament. They remembered the wasted years of heated debate in the Assembly of Divines, ending in a claim of right divine to insist upon a compliance with a creed and a catechism. Presbyterian Church government had succumbed in face of the demand for toleration, and it was not likely to be succeeded by another organisation asserting similar *jure divino* on the consciences of men.

The Committee for the Reformation of the Law.

Equally unable was the Parliament to effect the reform of the law, although a basis for its discussion had been prepared for it by the report of the Lords' Commissioners in 1648; laid aside during the proceedings of the High Commission for the trial of the King. With the advice and assistance of the Master of the Rolls several instructions had been prepared, ordained, and published, requiring only the sanction of Parliament, for reforming abuses in Chancery Courts, preventing multiplicity of suits, motions, and unnecessary charges to suitors, and for the more expeditious and certain course of relief. Whitelocke had signed the orders on behalf of the Council of State, and the House had appointed

a powerful committee for remedying the inconveniences of the law: twenty-five Members of the House, including among them many eminent lawyers, the Lord Chief Baron, Lords Commissioners Lisle and Whitelocke, Mr. Attorney Prideaux, Matthew Hale, and the Recorder. Also the following gentlemen, who the next year were members of the Barbone Parliament: Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir William Roberts, General Desborough, Colonel Tomlinson, John Carew, Walter Strickland, John Sadler, Samuel Moyer, Tobias Frere, and Bussey Mansell. The committee had worked hard, sat constantly to make speedy despatch of the "glorious work,"[50] had frequent communications with the judges for their assistance,[51] and digested the reports received from the several courts at Westminster.[52] The Committee sat three entire days in the week, and at intervals divided into sub-committees.[53] Parliament ordered the report of the Committee for the Laws to be published weekly.[54] The result was a monument of careful work. Fifteen Acts were drafted:—

1. Act for taking away fines upon bills, declarations, and original writs.
2. Act touching marriages and the registering thereof.
3. Act against customary oaths.
4. Act for ascertaining arbitrary fines upon descent and alienation of copyhold of inheritance.
5. Act for the more speedy recovery of debts.
6. Act for the better regulating of pleaders and their fees.
7. Act for the more speedy and easy recovery of debts and damages not exceeding the sum of four pounds.
8. Act against the sale of offices.
9. Act for the further declaration and prevention of fraudulent conveyances and contracts.
10. Act for the recovery of debts owned by corporations.
11. Act against challenges, duels, and all provocations leading thereto.
12. Act to prevent solicitations of judges, bribery, charge of motion, and for restriction of pleaders.
13. Act to make debts assignable.
14. Act for the better putting into execution the laws against drunkenness and other offences.

Also Acts for county registers; wills and administrations; for preventing inconveniences, delay, charges and irregularity in chancery and common law (as well in capital and criminal causes); for settling county judicatures, guardians of orphans, courts of appeal, and county treasuries and workhouses. Most of the drafts were accompanied with tables of fees and short forms of declaration.

[50] E 655. [51] E 652. [52] E 654. [53] E 652. [54] E 668.

Never before, or, doubtless, since, had such a thorough and practical project of law reformation been placed before a legislative assembly. But Parliament wrangled over the several propositions. Not one of them passed into an Act. Ludlow remarked that it took up three months before the meaning of the word "incumbrance" could be ascertained. The impatience of Cromwell was not to be wondered at. The discredited tail of the Long Parliament could not even arrange for its own retirement and a provision for a new representative. It was more interested in discovering some way whereby it might perpetuate itself. Attempting by a snatch vote to pass a Bill with this or the like object, the mellifluous Harrison "most sweetly and humbly desired them to lay it aside, showing them the danger of it."[55] The warning was disregarded, and Cromwell was hastily summoned. Consulting with Harrison, after some little hesitation, he angrily addressed the diminished House, promptly dissolved it, and taking up the mace, exclaimed, "What shall we do with this bauble? here, take it away." The astounded Speaker remained in his chair. Harrison, in his sweetest tones, told him that it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The Speaker protested that he could not go except on compulsion. "Sir," said Harrison, "I will lend you my hand; hereupon, putting his hand within his, the Speaker came down."[56] Exit Parliament, passing through the door on which was scrawled the next morning, "This House to be Let." But its vitality was not quite spent. In still further diminished numbers it met again in 1660, and promptly re-appointed the Plundered Ministers Committee!

Dissolution of the Long Parliament.

Thirteen years of successful revolt against Church and King had ended in the humiliating disappearance of the Parliament that had been the mover of it. What had been the outcome? Apparent confusion and disorder. Yet there was undoubtedly an attainment of considerable civil and religious liberty. Men were not in 1653 subject to cropped ears and the pillory for publishing their opinions, or sent to the Tower for speeches in Parliament, or driven off to gaol for praying and singing in

[55] Several Proceedings. [56] Ludlow.

private houses. Under many limitations there was liberty of the press, of speech, and of trade. The nation breathed an air of freedom, far indeed from perfect, but very notable in a nation torn by civil dissensions and religious animosities. Something beside the destruction of the monarchy and the hierarchy had been accomplished. The House had passed an Act, Nov. 22, 1649, for turning the books of the law, and all process and proceedings in courts of justice, into English. The laws of the land were printed for the first time in the mother tongue, and simultaneously with the change the scholars began to publish their theology or philosophy in a language understood by the people. And last, but not least, the Plundered Ministers and other committees had swept away many of the abuses and scandals that had disgraced the parishes under the rule of the hierarcy, and laid the foundation of the future Commonwealth system of Church government.

What had been the outcome.

In the conduct of foreign affairs Parliament boldly took steps to assert English influence, and had begun a naval enterprise that soon recovered the position in Europe which had been lost since the days of Elizabeth. Unable to develop an organised system of Church government to take the place of the old, the House ruled the parishes by what was practically an ecclesiastical court of justice, the Plundered Ministers Committee. But from first to last, influenced by the Independents, it insisted on a tolerance of different opinions approaching to religious equality as far as Prostestants were concerned. At the very height of Presbyterian ascendancy, and in the face of the decisions of the Assembly of Divines, the House frequently declined to enforce any scheme for establishing uniformity in religion, insisting even in its arrangements with Presbytery that provision should be made for tender consciences. The general attitude of Parliament to clerical intolerance was that of protecting the liberty of the dissentient against any attempt to enforce conformity.



FRANCIS ROUS.

Speaker of the Parliament, 1653.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

The dissolution of the Long Parliament was not unexpected. Considerable popular discontent with its dilatory proceedings had found vent before its disappearance. "The complaint of the nation hath ascended up on high," "The House is betraying its trust," "They will never let us have a new representative," were among the numerous protests in the newspapers.

Popular desire for a New Representative.

There was much satisfaction expressed when the news reached the country that Cromwell was preparing to call a new representative Assembly. "It is the opinion of many wise men that a deliverance draweth near. Then soar aloft, with golden wings, thou flourishing state of England!" [57] "The welcome change had surpassed all the revolutions that the memory of any age could afford." [58] Whitelocke recorded, "Many acknowledgements were sent up to Cromwell and his Council of Officers from several parts of the army, and from others in several counties, with engagements to stand by him." Petitions came in suggesting that the new Parliament should not be based on popular election, and begging his Excellency "not to leave the choice of those that shall rule to the liberty of the counties, but that he would be pleased himself to provide conservators of all the people, and place both in the higher and lower courts of judicature, such to judge the people as should be able men, fearing God; men of truth, and men hating covetousness."

The general expectation was satirised in a popular song, "One Thousand Six Hundred and Fifty-three," written a month or two before the dismissal of the Long Parliament:

[57] Every Daies Intelligence. [58] Faithful Post.

The land shall be freed from all kinds of taxations,
And men in their minds shall be eased of vexations.
Sorrow and care shall torment us no more;
Some men shall grow rich and others grow poor.
You need not fear—you shall see next year
All things in an excellent shape to appear.
One thousand six hundred and fifty-three
Will produce what we hoped this long time to see!

Declaration of the Lord General.

The petitions were answered by a Declaration from the Lord General and his Council of Officers, reiterating the advice that had been given to the late Parliament. It had been judged necessary, "that the supreme authority should be by a Parliament devolved upon known persons, men fearing God and of approved integrity, and that the government of the nation should be committed to them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, to reform the law, and administer justice impartially." The General and his Council were desirous "that the people might forget monarchy, and understanding their true interests in the election of successive Parliaments, might have the government settled upon a sure basis, without hazard to the glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up armies for the defence of the same. They hoped out of honest hearts to prefer this course above their names, liberties, and lives, families or interests, with real purpose to call to the government persons of approved fidelity and honesty; believing that as wise men will not endeavour to gather grapes of thistles, so good men will expect that the fruits of a just and righteous reformation will in time be obtained."

Following this declaration a Council of State was nominated, to which was referred the arrangements for the new representation. The Council "sat close" during the whole of May, discussing various propositions. Fleetwood suggested a junta—the Lord General and his executive of Officers. Lambert proposed that the government should be vested in ten or twelve persons instead of in another Parliament; in fact, to get rid of the State difficulty as they had attempted to solve the Church question—by committee. Some were for a republic after the Dutch model, with Cromwell for a Statholder. Harrison was for a theocracy, a Sanhedrim of saints. He wrote to Colonel Jones: "We are waiting on the Lord of Hosts

Discussion in the Council of State.

for his return from sea [whither he had gone, it may be presumed, to the help of Sea-General Blake], having resolved to have in power men of truth, fearing and loving the Lord, His people and interests," but "*the difficulty is to get such,* whereof my lord only [Cromwell] shall call them, or the saints should choose them; very much sweetly said both ways." The Council eventually decided, notwithstanding the difficulty of finding them, to inquire for "godly men of good report" in the several counties by means of correspondence with the English and Welsh counties, and with Scotland, desiring to have the names of those worthy to be trusted with the representation.

Before the Council came to the end of its deliberations it was evident that there were two ways of regarding "known men, men fearing God, and of approved integrity." Cromwell considered the first requirement to be: Known men, of good repute; whilst Harrison demanded that before all, a member of the new representative must be a saint. "Oh that they may be Moses' for meekness, Samuels for uprightness, Davids for God's favourites, and the figuring of the coming of Christ!" [59]

Divergent Views.

This difference of opinion evidenced a parting of the ways between the two great leaders of the Commonwealth. Up to that time Cromwell had been much under the influence of Harrison, the brilliant soldier and anctuous saint. For a year or two it would have been difficult to decide which of them occupied the higher place in the popular estimation. There had always been a marked difference between the troops commanded by Cromwell and those led by Harrison. The "Ironsides," as they were subsequently called, were of the old Puritan stamp, sturdy, capable, God-fearing men, and obedient under severe discipline. Harrison's regiments were composed chiefly of religious enthusiasts, brave but often unmanageable. Fairfax had at one time to call a council of war to quell their tumultuous if not mutlnous proceedings. It was to the latter section of the Parliamentary army that the saints at Wrexham before the battle of Worcester sent their message of confident expectation that God would "by you worms, thresh the mountains." Harrison's troops not only fought bravely under his skilful leadership, but held prayer-

[59] Armies' Scout.

meetings on every halt in their march. Now, in the political arena, Harrison took the same position he had occupied in the army, as the leader of the saints who believed that "the Lord had thrust in His sickle, and that the harvest of the earth had come." It did not damp the enthusiasm of these millenarian zealots that many people outside the Council were not prepared to accept a convention Parliament instead of a popularly elected one. Certain eminent citizens of London—aldermen, deputies, and Common Council men—presented a petition praying that the lately-dissolved Parliament should meet again! The petitioners were promptly dealt with. There was an order in Council that all persons who have signed the said representation, and have any place of public trust upon them, and for which they receive salary or allowance, be forthwith discharged from their respective places and appointments.

Citations sent out.

About two months after the dissolution of one Parliament, citations were sent out for summoning another. Harrison had taken a conspicuous part in the correspondence with the counties, and had succeeded in nominating a considerable number of persons better known for their religious profession than for their political judgment or experience.[60] But the larger proportion of the nominees receiving the citations were men of public reputation and of good standing in Society, old Parliamentarians, lawyers, soldiers, and country gentlemen. The statement that they were a "pack of weak, senseless fellows," and partly composed of "the dregs of the fanatics," was an inexcusable tampering with historical truth. Among the gentlemen who obeyed the citations of Cromwell and the Council of Officers there were: one peer of the realm, two Scotch Lairds, and the eldest son of a Laird, Lord Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, and Charles Howard, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Edward Montague, and George Monk, afterwards respectively Earls of Carlisle, Shaftesbury, Sandwich, and Duke of Albemarle. Ten baronets or knights, and twenty-eight other gentlemen by birth. Two future Lord Mayors of London, a Lord Mayor of York and of Dublin; other civic dignitaries, lords

[60] For instance, he proposed the names of three persons to serve on behalf of the saints in South Wales—Hugh Courtney, John Browne, and Richard Price, all of whom were afterwards nominated and sat in the Barbone Parliament.—Jones' Correspondence.

of the manor, high sheriffs, and justices of the peace by the score; Dr. Goddard, the Court physician; Col. William Sydenham, the brother of Dr. Sydenham, "the Father of English Medicine"; the cultured Henry Lawrence, "virtuous father of virtuous son;" [61] Lockhart, the distinguished Ambassador to France; and the renowned Admiral Blake. Known men, who considered it an honour to be selected for the new representative.[62]

The nominations met with general approval throughout the country. "The summons sent out by the Lord General to all parts of England to make a new representative, received such general acceptance in the several counties that all well-affected people were now clearly confirmed, and others began to be persuaded that he really and truly laboured the entire good of the Commonwealth, without any particular interest, with which many malignant tongues endeavoured to asperse him." [63] Many petitions came thanking the General for his great pains in settling the Commonwealth. Much was anticipated. "The Lord be with them on the Mount! [64] There will suddenly be called to govern a Parliament that will no doubt be an exceeding great joy to all; taxes and burdens eased, men having public treasures in their hands called to account, religion advanced, gospel established, and godly ministers encouraged." [65]

Barbon's Summons.

Only one of the original citations to the Barbone Parliament has been preserved, and that one supposed by Godwin to have been unused, and substituted by another, on account of its inaccuracy: [66]

1653. June 6.—General Oliver Cromwell to Praise God Barebones, Esquire. As on the dissolution of the late Parliament it became necessary that peace and good government should be provided for,

[61] Milton. [62] Lord Commissioner Bulstrode Whitelocke, "who estimated himself highly, considered it to be a grievance that he was left out of the Little Parliament." [63] Faithful Post. [64] Several Proceedings. [65] Moderate Intelligencer. [66] The original summons is among the MSS. in the Record Office. Godwin must have been mistaken in his supposition that it was a spoilt copy on account of the mis-spelling of the name. It bears marks of having been folded as a letter and used for its purpose. Among the State Papers is a document dated four years before, July 25, 1649, signed by Sir Fulke Greville, John Hervey, Thomas Barnardiston, and *Prayse Barbon*, of Fleet Street, securities in £500 each for the newly-appointed Master of the Mint. It is probable that Barbon, finding himself popularly known by his nickname, did not trouble himself to correct his designation in the summons.

I and my Council of Officers have nominated persons of fidelity to whom this great charge is to be committed; and having assurance of your love to God and interest in His people, I, as the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Commonwealth, do summon you, being one of the persons so nominated, to appear at the Council Chamber, Whitehall, on Fourth of July, and take upon you the said trust as Member for the City of London.

By the end of June the following gentlemen were returned as accepting the summons of the Lord General. It must be noted that the Parliament of 1653 developed into two parties, not at the time of its meeting bearing distinctive names. There is a list preserved in which the Members are called those who "helped to break," *i.e.*, decided on dissolution by returning their powers to the Lord General. The parties may be designated as Cromwellian Reformers and Harrisonian Radicals. In the list the names of the latter party are printed in italics. The Members marked (*) had been Members of the Long Parliament; those then or in future Members of the Council of State are designated with (†); and those marked with (‡) were invited to take seats in the House after its meeting.[67]

List of the Members.

Foremost was Francis Rous, its venerable Speaker. Few men occupy more space of time in English history, between the closing years of Elizabeth and the Restoration of Charles II., than the Commonwealth Provost of Eton, 1644-59. Born in 1579, the son of Sir Anthony Rous, of Halton, near Saltash, in Cornwall, he was a boy of eleven years when his stepmother, the widow of Alexander Pim, and her subsequently distinguished son John Pym, the Parliamentarian, came to the "great house" at Halton, a place of entertainment to numerous friends, among them Sir Francis Drake, the veteran navigator,

[67] Mr. Gardiner quotes a list of the names marked with a star, designating those who were "for the Godly Ministers and Universities." He estimates that there were eighty-four Moderates and sixty of the advanced party; and that Thomason's note incorrectly makes the latter sixty-one. But is not the collector of the "King's Pamphlets" corroborated by the careful analysis of the Members subjoined? Cromwell and Brodie of Brodie never took their seats; leaving 142 Members to account for, eighty-one Cromwellians and sixty-one Harrisonians. Either way, the question is of no importance. Two lists of the Members of the Parliament are to be found in the Folio Tracts (E 669), and others appear in Several Proceedings (July 26), Mercurius Politicus (July 28), and the Weekly Intelligence (August 21).

and Charles Fitzgeoffry, divine and poet. When the latter published his memorial of Drake, 1596, he prefixed to it a sonnet by Rous. Two years later, the youthful poet wrote and published "Thule, or Vertue's Historie," dedicated to the Honourable and Vertuous Mistres Amy Audley.[68] Much of it must have been written before Spenser issued the last quarto of the "Fairie Queene," and in the same year as the appearance of the first edition of Shakespeare's Plays. Rous was the youngest and last of the Elizabethan poets.

In his early manhood Rous studied law and travelled. His next appearance as an author was in 1616, when he published "Meditations Endeavouring the Edification and Reparation of the House of the Lord," a protest against the apathy of the Church in the midst of a widespread religious destitution. In 1618 he dedicated to his father "The Art of Happiness," in which he described the dramatic change in his life. "I took ship to go to Tarsus, even to foreign countries, and in my own time began to study the law, until a storm from heaven chased me away to the study of eternity." In 1622 appeared "Diseases of the Time and their Remedies," with a dedication to Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. In 1625, "The Oil of Scorpions." Like an ancient prophet, he exposed the sins of the nation, administering scathing rebukes.

With Henry Rolle, "one of the greatest lawyers of his time," Rous was returned to the second Parliament of Charles I. for Truro, and at once took a leading part in the deliberations of the House as a Church reformer in opposition to the Arminian or ecclesiastical party. In the third Parliament of Charles, 1628, Rous was returned for Tregony, and, with Coke and Hampden, was placed on the Committee for the Better Continuance of Peace and Unity in the Church. By this time he had become an impassioned orator, and delivered his charge against Dr. Mainwaring in a fierce invective. In the following year he broke into the debate on tonnage and poundage in his great speech on the Right of Religion, and carried his point that it should have the first place in the deliberations of the House. The King intervening, promptly dissolved the Parliament, and then commenced his twelve years' reign, *jure divino*, the precursor of revolution.

[68] Reprinted by the Spenser Society, 1878.

The leaders of the House were silenced and returned brooding to their homes.

When Charles was compelled to call another Parliament Rous was again returned for Truro. He at once joined in the debate on grievances. Accusing a defender of the Government of trading with Rome, he defended his position as a Church reformer, indignantly repudiating the use of the term Puritan as applied to Protestants by Laudian Churchmen, "for in the mouth of drunkard it doth mean a sober man, in the mouth of an Arminian it means an Orthodoxian, in the mouth of a Papist a Protestant; and so it speaks to shame a man out of *religion*." As in previous Parliaments, Rous was again insistent on religion having the first place in its discussions, and was successful. At the head of the grievances was placed—"First: Innovations in Matters of Religion." The King, bitterly displeased, summarily dismissed the fourth Parliament.

Six months afterwards, the Long Parliament met on November 4, 1640. Returning to the position of its predecessors, its first business was the consideration of "privileges"; Rous, with the leading Members, placed upon it. It was at this time that he commenced five years of unparalleled parliamentary activity. He was not only on every committee in any way connected with religion, but took his share in the legislation which revolutionised the country. His name appears on the Journals of the House hundreds of times. The important part he took in public affairs is seen in his frequent employment as a medium of communication between the two Houses, and between the Commons and the Assembly of Divines. When Dr. Cozens was impeached, in March, 1641, Rous carried up the charge to the Lords. On presenting it, he said: "Your Lordships have heard of a great design to bring in Popery; you have heard of armies of soldiers, and particularly of the Popish Irish Army, the burden and complaint of the Commons. But there is another army, not much spoken of, and that is an army of priests. It is a saying of Gregory the Great, that when Antichrist comes *preparatus est exercitus sacerdotum*—there is an army of priests ready to receive him." Rous shortly after moved against the bishops. "It was undesirable," he suggested, "to elect new

bishops until the impeached ones were condemned or otherwise." As an outcome of this debate twelve of the bishops were sequestered.

In the attempts which followed for years after to effect a settlement of religion, Rous, who was neither sectarian nor ecclesiastic, became the ruling spirit, guiding through the shoals the infant enterprise as it grew and expanded, and keeping it steadily to the object, as far as he was concerned, of maintaining good ministers in every parish in the kingdom. Every link in the long chain that reached from the time of his advocacy of adequate maintenance for the ministry in 1616 to the Commonwealth settlement of religion in 1654 can be traced in the life of Francis Rous. His constantly-increasing labours reached their climax when, on the disappearance of Episcopacy, all questions of parish government and fitness for the ministry were referred to the Plundered Ministers' Committee. Rous was an active member of it then and throughout its existence. His name appears on the minute books of the committee with a frequency second only to the references to the Member for Truro in the Commons' Journals.

In 1644 the House passed a resolution, "That Mr. Rous shall be Provost of Eton College, his acceptance not to vacate his seat in Parliament." In the same year he carried up to the Lords for concurrence the Directory of Public Worship to supersede the Book of Common Prayer, and for three weeks was actively engaged in issuing the orders for the adoption of the Directory throughout the kingdom. The time-honoured "Sternhold and Hopkins" suffered a similar fate to the ancient Prayer-book two years after. Rous had long been engaged in preparing a new version of the Metrical Psalms for public use. On April 16, 1646, Parliament ordered the singing of "Mr. Rous, his Psalmes, throughout the Kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed." A revision of Rous not long after became the National Psalm Book of Scotland. Some of Rous's verses are still sung in Presbyterian churches throughout the English-speaking world.

In 1648 Rous was chiefly concerned with the renovation of the University of Oxford, taking part in the institution of the newly-appointed professors. He was also one of the managers of the

conference with the Lords on the Confession of Faith, now known as the Westminster Confession, and a teller in the division on the motion in the House that fixed its name. The Provost of Eton does not appear to have taken any part in the trial and execution of the King; but he was a warm supporter of Cromwell, and defended his policy by publishing "The Lawfulness of Obeying the Present Government and Acting under it." It followed Milton's "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates" (1649). In a subsequent edition of his treatise, Rous announced his partial retirement from the political arena. As one result of his leisure thus obtained, he published, in 1650, "Mella Patrum," or the Beauties of the Early Fathers of the Church. As it was written in Latin, and never translated into English, this bulky volume of one thousand pages remains a monument of misdirected labour. Yet his efforts never slackened in connection with the settlement of religion. The first committee on which he sat in 1626 was for the promotion and enlargement of poor clergymen's livings; his last appearance in 1652 was on committee for the better propagation of the Gospel.

Rous was an old man of seventy-four years when he accepted the Speakership of the first Parliament of the Commonwealth, on condition that the daily sessions should not ordinarily "exceed four hours, 8 a.m. to 12 noon, he being aged." Yet when Cromwell summoned the Parliament of 1654, being returned by his old constituents at Truro, he was again proposed for the Speakership. Little in harmony with the views of that abortive Parliament, he took no part in its discussions about single person, and confined his attendance to the meetings of the Council of State, to which he had been appointed on the resignation of the Barbone Parliament, and to his work as the head of the Commission for Approbation of Ministers. He was returned to the third Parliament of the Commonwealth, 1656.

In the early part of 1657 appeared the Complete Works of Francis Rous under the title of "Treatises and Meditations," in one large quarto volume. In its Preface, or as it is termed, "the Manuduction," Rous explains "that among them is one on catholic charity that looks like a controversy, not very pleasant to the author, who is in love with Love, but herein agreeable that it is a controversy for Love." Rous—the

poet of the days of Elizabeth, the denouncer of the sins of the people in the reign of his successor, the heated orator of Charles's Parliaments, the staunch supporter of Cromwell—had developed into the genial Christian philosopher whose motto was Love!

Summoned to the Protectorate House of Lords in 1657, as Francis Lord Rous, he sat in the Council of State for the last time Aug. 8, 1658; and three months after the death of Oliver Cromwell, died at his house at Acton, Jan. 7, 1659, in his eightieth year. *Mercurius Politicus* recorded: "Monday the 24th being the day appointed for the interment of the corpse of the Right Honourable Francis, Lord Rous, it was performed in this manner. The Lords of his Highness's Privy Council met at his house in Acton, and also divers of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and of the Officers of the Army, with many other persons of honour and quality. His Highness was also pleased to send several of his gentlemen in coaches with six horses to be present at the solemnity; three heralds likewise, or officers-at-arms, gave their attendance. The corpse was placed in a carriage covered with black velvet, adorned with escutcheons, and drawn by six horses in mourning furniture. The Lords of the Council followed it, and the rest in their order towards Eton by Windsor, where the deceased lord, having been Provost, desired that he might be interred. The corpse being arrived there, it was received by the learned society of that College with much sorrow for the loss of so excellent a governor, and the young scholars had prepared copies of verses to express their duty and bear their part in sorrow upon the sad occasion. The body being taken off the carriage was borne towards the College Chapel, four lords and gentlemen holding up each corner of the pall, and the whole party following to the grave."

That Francis Rous was merely "an old gentleman of Devonshire, of very mean understanding," as Lord Clarendon asserted, was a deliberate falsification of history.

MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT.

1. *Anlaby*, John, York*†

Married Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Boynton, of Barmston, Bart. One of the King's Judges, 1648. M.P.

1649-52, 1654 and 1658. Member of the Council of State, and Justice of the Peace.

2. *Baker,* Thomas, Salop.

Claimed to be descended from the ancient family of the Bakers of Kent, and received in 1649 a certificate to bear arms from Norry-King-at-arms. High Sheriff of Salop.

3. Baldwin, George, Buckinghamshire.

4. *Barbon,* Praise.

Prominent citizen of London. "Well known and respected for half-a-century," wrote Bishop Suter, when curate of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street. "He followed a lucrative calling, took his full share in parish and municipal business, and was a Baptist lay preacher. If he had been the troublesome and unprincipled fanatic which Clarendon, Hume, Macaulay, and others represented him to have been, I cannot but think he would have been afterwards molested, or turned out of the county; but he continued peaceably in our parish, attending the vestry for a year after the Restoration, and only ceasing to be found when vestrymen were elected on a different rule."[69] His capacious warehouse, "The Lock and Key," close under the clock of St. Dunstan's, attracted brutal mobs, and his windows were frequently smashed. Pepys remarks in his Diary, Feb. 22, 1661, "how abominably Barebone's windows are broke last night." The practice had commenced twenty years before Barbon was an active Member of the Parliament to which his name was attached, although not in the front rank. When the Royalists in Parliament in 1660 were contemplating the return of the King, Barbon headed the movement in London; which resulted in the monster petition from the City in favour of the Good Old Cause. It was presented at the Bar of the House by "Mr. Praise God Barebone" and many others. Barbon addressed the Speaker, and described the petitioners as representing the good old cause of civil and religious liberty against oppression and persecution, and prayed that no one should hold office without adjuring solemnly the pretended title of Charles Stewart.[70] On the Restoration Barbon was sent to the Tower. After his release, and the fire of 1666, which consumed the Lock and Key, he removed to Crane Court, and afterwards to Shoe Lane, where he died in 1680, aged eighty-four, and was buried at Bunhill Fields, the last resting-place of many another Nonconformist.

5. *Barrington,* Henry, Essex.

Alderman of Colchester. Commissioner of Weekly Assessments and for Militia. Active supporter of the Commonwealth from 1643 to end of the Protectorate.

6. Barton, Colonel Nathaniel, Derby.

Defeated the Cavaliers at Tilbury, 1645. M.A. Oxford. Member

[69] "Worthies of St. Dunstan's" (1856). [70] E 94.

Council of State. Commissioner Excise. Judge of Probate of Wills. M.P. 1654.

7. Barton, Henry, City of London.

8. *Bawdon,* John, Cornwall.

Of an old family in Cornwall, remarkable for the number of manors once in their possession. Commanded troops in the militia. Took a leading part in the defence of the notorious Hannah Trapnell at Truro. Justice of the Peace.

9. *Bellott,* George, Stafford.

10. *Bennet,* Colonel Robert, Cornwall.*†

Eldest son of Richard Bennet, of Bradstone, Devon. Succeeded to the Manor of Lawhilton, which had been in the family of the Bennets for generations. Joined the Parliament forces in 1643. Governor of St. Michael's Mount and Devil's Fort in 1649. Member of Council of State. M.P. 1654, '57 and '59. He was called "Sir Henry Vane's little second in preaching."

11. Bennett, Gervaise, Derby.

Justice of the Peace. Gave the name of "Quakers" to the Society of Friends. When committing George Fox to prison, that eccentric evangelist bade Gervaise quake at the Word of the Lord. A bantering comment in reply fixed the derisive appellation on the Society of Friends for centuries. Member of Council of State. M.P. 1654, '56, '58.

12. Bingham, Colonel John, Dorset.*†

"Bingham was a man of very noble and ancient family, a man of very good estate, a very honest and good man, and a Puritan." Justice of the Peace. Member of Council of State. Governor of Jersey. M.P. 1647, '54, '56 and '58 parliaments.

13. Birkhead, Colonel Henry, Chester.

Commissioner taxes, public faith, and public safety. Justice of the Peace.

14. Blake, Robert, Somerset.

Renowned sea-general. Educated at Oxford. His mother was daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey Williams, of Plansfield. A zealous Protestant he was returned M.P. for Bridgewater, in the short parliament of 1640. "He was religious up to the profession he made, and was never known to swear."

15. *Blount,* Colonel Thomas, Kent.

Evelyn described him as "a great justiciary of his time." Second son of Edward Blount, of the Middle Temple, and Wricklemarsh in Charlton, Kent, by his wife Fortune, daughter of Sir William Garway, Knight. Took an active part in the Civil War. Colonel in the Earl of Stamford's regiment. Planted vineyards on his estate in Kent, invented springs for coaches, and a way-wiser, indexing the miles travelled by

a coach. Both Pepys and Evelyn describe their visits to him at Wricklemarsh.

16. *Botterell,* William, Salop.

Governor of Ludlow Castle, 1649. On commission insurrection in Wales, 1651.

17. *Bowtell,* Barnaby, Lincoln.

Justice of the Peace. Commissioner of Assessments, and High Court of Justice, 1650.

18. *Brewster,* Major Francis, Suffolk.

Lord of the Manor of Wrentham. M.P. in all the parliaments from 1650 to 1658.

19. *Brewster,* John, Essex.

Conservator of Waltham forest. Commissioner for taxes. Justice of the Peace.

20. *Brodie, of Brodie,* Scotland.

Scottish laird, known as "the good lord Brodie."

21. *Brooke,* Colonel Thomas, Northampton.

Commissioner militia, 1651. M.P. 1656.

22. *Broughton,* Andrew, Kent.†

Secretary and Assistant Counsellor High Court of Justice for the trial of the King. Member of Council of State. Prepared most of the bills and acts of the 1653 Parliament.

23. Browne, Colonel John, Wales.

Governor of Upnor Castle, 1647. One of the King's judges.

24. *Brownlow,* Sir William, Lincoln.

Commissioner Assessments and public faith. Justice of the Peace.

25. *Burton,* Major William, Norfolk.

High Bailiff of Lowestoft, which he successfully defended from an attack of the Dutch. Commissioner Admiralty and Navy. Justice of the Peace.

26. *Caley,* Jacob, Suffolk.

Member of the High Court of Justice, Eastern Counties.

27. *Carew,* John, Devon.*†

Eldest son of Richard Carew, of Antony, in Cornwall, of plentiful estate. One of the King's judges, and one of Cromwell's Lords. M.P. Long Parliament. Justice of the Peace. Was executed as a regicide on the Restoration.

28. Castle, Colonel Robert, Cambridge.

"Squire Castle" resided at his seat, Haddenham, Cambridge. Justice of the Peace. Visitor of the University. Fought in the Civil War. M.P. 1656, and Deputy-Major-General Isle of Ely.

29. *Cater,* Edward, Bedford.

Commissioner Assessments, for Fairfax army, and for sequestration. Justice of the Peace.

30. Chetwood, John, Stafford.

Justice of the Peace.

31. Clark, Colonel John, Ireland.†

Commander-in-Chief of the forces by sea and land in and about the Scilly Isles. M.P. 1656. Member of Council of State.

32. Clark, John, Suffolk.

Auditor of Accounts, 1655; Auditor of Treasury, 1656; Treasury Commissioner, 1659. Justice of the Peace.

33. Cludd, Edward, Nottingham.

A wealthy landed proprietor. M.P. 1654 and 1656. Justice of the Peace.

34. *Coates*, Captain Roger, York.

Whilst playing the part of a spy in a plot against Cromwell, he was taken with the conspirators and sent to the Tower: but was speedily liberated and compensated.

35. Cooper, Sir Anthony Ashley, Wiltshire.*†‡

Distinguished statesman. Successfully besieged Taunton in 1646. On his return was pricked for the office of High Sheriff, which he held in great state. M.P. 1654 and 1656. After the Restoration he accepted office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1672 as Lord High Chancellor, he was elevated to the Earldom of Shaftesbury. "Undoubtedly," wrote Bishop Burnet, "Shaftesbury was the most eminent politician of his time."

36. *Courtney*, Colonel Hugh, Wales.

Captain of militia in Carnarvon and Anglesea in 1650. Afterwards commissioner for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales. Member of the Council of State. Was ill-affected to the Protectorate, being frequently arrested and sent to the Isle of Wight and elsewhere. After its fall, was recommended to be Governor of Beaumaris. Banished after the Restoration.

37. *Crofts*, Captain John, Gloucester.

Baptist by profession. Served on commissions between 1654 and 1657. Justice of the Peace.

38. Cromwell, Oliver, Lord General.*†‡

39. Cromwell, Colonel Henry, Ireland.†

M.P., parliaments of 1653 and 1654. Governor of Ireland. Current reports speak of his remarkable success there: "We are very blessed with our Governor, who gains much every day in the affections and hearts of all sober men, and especially in his giving countenance to the sound, orthodox ministry."

40. Cullen, William, Kent.

Mayor of Dover. M.P. 1654, on trade and navigation committees.

41. Cunliffe, Robert, Lancaster.
Commissioner Assessments, 1644, and sequestrations, 1651.

42. *Cust,* Richard, Lincoln.
Commissioner Assessments, 1645. Justice of the Peace.

43. *Danvers,* Colonel Henry, Leicester.
Descended from honourable parents, his father being a gentleman of good estate. Justice of the Peace. Governor of Stafford, 1651. A militant Baptist, he sided against Cromwell, and was twice placed in custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. In 1649 he published, "Certain Queries concerning Liberty of Conscience." He maintained that "there is no lawful authority not originally derived from the consent of the people." He defended a wide toleration. "Were not the Protestants the Pope's heretics? The Puritans or Nonconformists theirs? and the Independents the Puritans' heretics and schismatics? Is not the principle more suitable and agreeable with the Gospel that Christ shed His blood for His bloodiest enemies, died for the chief of sinners?" Danvers was still fighting for liberty of conscience in 1684. After being arrested for attending a private meeting in favour of the Duke of Monmouth, he escaped to Holland, and died at Utrecht in 1687, just too late to share in the result of the Revolution of 1688.

44. Dawson, Henry, Durham.
Mayor of Newcastle. Commissioner Propagation of the Gospel, 1650.

45. Desborough, Major-General John.††
Although bred an attorney, he farmed his estate at Ettisley, in Cambridgeshire. He married the sister of Cromwell in 1636. Commander of a regiment of horse in 1643. One of the King's judges. Governor of Portsmouth. In 1651 appointed one of the four generals of the fleet with Blake, Monk and Penn. Member of Council of State. M.P. 1656. One of Cromwell's Lords. After the Restoration, he took out a patent for the removal of ballast by machinery, made null and void, however, "because it threw so many diggers out of work." He figures in "Hudibras."

46. Dickenson, Sir Thomas, York.
Of Kirkby Hall, Lord Mayor of York. M.P. 1654. The eleventh bell of the chimes of York Cathedral is inscribed: Thoma Dickenson, milite majore civit Eboraci vice 2 da sine plus procurante.

47. *Draper,* William, Oxfordshire.
High Sheriff of the county. Visitor of Oxford University. Governor of Oxford, 1651.

48. Duckenfield, Sir Robert, Chester.
"A gentleman born," wrote the Earl of Derby to his Countess. One of the King's judges. Governor of Chester, when he was given the command of a foot regiment raised there.

49. Dunch, Samuel, Berks.

Relative of John Dunch, of Pusey, who married the sister of Richard Cromwell's wife. Visitor both of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Commissioner of Public Faith, 1655. Justice of the Peace.

50. *Dunkon,* Robert, Suffolk.

Receiver-General and Town Constable of Ipswich. Commissioner assessments and militia.

51. *Earle,* Christopher, Essex.

Commissioner Colchester petition and militia. Justice of the Peace.

52. Erisey, James, Devon.

"Of the ancient house of Erisey." Justice of the Peace. Commissioner taxes.

53. Eure, Lord George, York.†

Parliament soldier. Succeeded to the ancient barony of the Eures, who took their title from the River Eure on which stands the City of York. Raised a regiment of foot and a troop of horse, under Lord Fairfax. One of Cromwell's Lords. Justice of the Peace.

54. *Eyre,* Colonel Thomas, Wilts.

Governor of Hurst Castle 1649, and again in 1659. Commissioner of Public Faith. Justice of the Peace.

55. Fenwick, Colonel Robert, Cumberland.

Of Bedlington. Commissioner to Scotland, 1643. After taking part in the siege of Newcastle, was appointed Commissioner there, and received the personal freedom of that corporation. A fellow in Cambridge University. One of the King's judges. Commissioner to Scotland concerning the Union.

56. Fleetwood, Colonel George, Bucks.

Served throughout the Civil Wars. Visitor of Cambridge and Oxford Universities. One of Cromwell's Lords. Raised in 1657, 2,000 English volunteers for the Swedish service, and became a Lieut-General in the King of Sweden's Infantry. Returning to his military duties in England he commanded a regiment of militia. Justice of the Peace. On the Restoration, the estates of George Fleetwood, of the Vache, were confiscated and bestowed upon the Duke of York.

57. *French,* Thomas, Cambridge.

Commissioner Assessments. An eminent contractor. Held leases for excise on ale for the counties of Huntingdon, Bedford and Cambridge: £8,000 for three years.

58. Frere, Tobias, Norfolk.

Of Coldham Hall, Norfolk. Commissioner Assessments and Sequestrations. On committee for the enquiry into the inconveniences of the law. M.P. 1654. Justice of the Peace.

59. *Gill,* Edward, York.

M.P. in the successive Protectorate Parliaments.

60. Goddard, Dr. Jonathan, Oxford.

Physician to Charles I. Was sent to Scotland to attend the Lord-General Cromwell during his dangerous sickness. Warden of Merton College, Oxford. After the Restoration, physician to Charles II.

61. Goddard, Major Vincent, Berks.

Took the side of the King at the beginning of the Civil War. Afterwards joined the Parliament, and was Commissioner Taxes Fairfax Army.

62. Gookin, Vincent, Ireland.

One of the chief agents in the great affair of transplanting the Irish, sanctioned by an Act of the Barbone Parliament. M.P. for Kinsale and Bandon in the Irish Parliament. Commissioner to receive duties at Dunkirk, 1659. He was also a trustee for the sale of lands, and a Justice of the Peace.

63. *Greene,* Nicholas, Wilts.

Served on several Commissions between 1651 and 1657.

64. *Harrison,* Major-General Thomas.*†

Brought up an attorney at Clifford's Inn. 1642 enlisted into Essex's Life Guards. 1644 Major in Fleetwood's regiment of horse, at the battle of Marston Moor. On the remodelling of the army one of Cromwell's trusted lieutenants. Fought at the battle of Naseby, and appointed Colonel. 1648 joined the army marching to the North and took part in the battle of Preston. Brought up the King to Windsor. 1650 on Cromwell's departure for Scotland Harrison was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the South of England during the absence of the Lord General. At a bound, eight years after his enlistment into the army he had reached the first rank. Took part in the battle of Worcester. M.P. for Wendover, 1646. M.A. Oxford, and subsequently head of the commission for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales. 1653 assisted Cromwell in the dispersal of the Long Parliament. In the Council of State was active in the arrangements for a new Parliament, in which he headed the minority party, advocating a policy of wholesale abolition of existing institutions, resulting in the House returning its powers into the hands of the Lord General. From this time Harrison's influence waned. He was frequently arrested during the Protectorate, but was spared by Cromwell on account of the old friendship. Harrison was the head of the Fifth Monarchy party. Politically he was a disintegrator. After the Restoration, as one of the King's judges, he was tried at Westminster, and was hung, drawn and quartered, a punishment executed with great barbarity.

65. Henley, Henry, Somerset.

Commissioner for ejection of scandalous ministers, 1656. Justice of the Peace.

66. *Herring*, John, Norfolk.

Alderman of Norwich. Justice of the Peace.

67. Hewson, Colonel John, Ireland.†

In 1645 this "child of wrath," as he described himself, was a distinguished Parliamentary soldier, signing the articles of capitulation on the surrender of Langford. 1647 was at the storming of Bridgewater. 1648 besieged Deal Castle. One of the King's judges. Sent to Ireland, where he was at the relief of Arklow, the capture of Ballyronan, and the storming of Kilkenny. 1649 Governor of Dublin. Member of Council of State. M.P. 1654. One of Cromwell's Lords. Commander of foot in Ireland, 1659. On the Restoration he fled to Holland. Pepys tells in his diary that he saw a picture of Hewson hanging from a gibbet set up in Cheapside.

68. *Highland*, Samuel, Surrey.

A tolerant Justice of the Peace for Southwark, accused of releasing prisoners without due grounds. M.P. 1654 and 1656. Lay pastor of a Baptist chapel. In a debate in the House he said, "Moral things are as necessary as religious —to feed and clothe the naked and oppressed. It is religion to pay your debts."

69. Hildesley, John, Southampton.

Described as a gentleman and Burgess of Lymington, London assessor, bencher of the City of Winchester, commissioner of assessments. 1656 M.P. and High Sheriff of Southampton. He sat in all the Protectorate Parliaments.

70. Hollister, Dennis, Bristol.†

A tradesman and lay preacher in the High Street, Bristol. A very bitter disputant with the Baptists, after he had joined the Quakers. He abused the former in "The Skirts of the Whore Discovered" as the synagogue of Satan. For some time he held the office of receiver of assessments.

71. *Holmes*, Robert, Gloucester.

72. *Hope*, Sir James, Scotland.

Laird of Hopeton. Commissioner of Justice in Scotland. Member of the Council of State. One of the Scotch Remonstrators. He was an owner of mines at Leadhill.

73. Horseman, Major Edward, Rutland.

Commissioner assessments, 1645, and for taxes, 1647. 1652 sat in the High Court of Justice. M.P. in the successive Protectorate Parliaments. Justice of the Peace.

74. Howard, Colonel Charles, Westmoreland.

Second son of Sir William Howard of Naworth. Joined the King's party at the outbreak of the Civil War. Subse-

quently went over to the Parliament. 1650 High Sheriff of Cumberland. M.P. 1654. District Major-General in 1655. One of Cromwell's Lords. After the Restoration M.P. in the first Parliament of Charles II., made a Privy Counsellor, and elevated to the Earldom of Carlisle. Ambassador to the Czar of Muscovy, and Ambassador Extraordinary to Denmark and to Charles XII. of Sweden. 1677 Governor of Jamaica.

75. Hutchinson, Daniel, Ireland.

Alderman and Lord Mayor of Dublin. Army contractor. Commissioner High Court of Justice in Ireland. M.P. 1654.

76. *Ireton,* Sir John, London City.

Brother of the Commissary General. Sheriff of London 1651. He was the last Commonwealth Lord Mayor, an office he held with great magnificence. But when the new rulers came to the front, he was apprehended and sent to the Tower, and subsequently transported to the Scilly Isles.

77 *Jaffray,* Alexander, Scotland.

Provost of Aberdeen. Scottish M.P. 1649. One of the Commissioners to treat with Charles II. at Breda. Fought in the Scotch army at Dunbar and was nearly killed. He joined the Quakers in 1659, and after the Restoration was twice imprisoned. He died peacefully in his own house in 1673.

78. *James,* Colonel John, Worcester.

Commissioner Taxes and Sequestrations, 1647-50. In 1651 the Council of State gave him a commission to command horse and dragoons. After the battle of Worcester, he was made Governor there. Member of the Council of State 1652.

79. *Jermy,* Colonel Sir Robert, Bart., Norfolk.

Of ancient extraction and very good estate. Commissioner of Taxes and Assessments. Colonel of horse under Major-General Harrison. Returned to the Parliament of 1658, but was not allowed to take his seat. At the Restoration he obtained leave to go beyond seas. Later on he returned, for in 1661, as Lord of the Manor of Bayfield, he presented John Bond to the living there.

80. Jones, Colonel Philip, Monmouth.*†

A cadet of the house of the Lord of Brecon. Joined the Parliamentary forces in 1642, and the next year took part in the siege of Basing House. M.P. in the Long Parliament. Member of the Council of State. One of Cromwell's Lords. Comptroller to the Household of Richard, Lord Protector. High Sheriff Glamorgan, 1671.

81. *Kenrick,* Colonel William, Kent.

Chief Commissioner of Excise and Admiralty Commissioner. 1650, Colonel and Commander of Militia forces in Kent. 1652, consulted with regard to the management of the Navy at Chatham. M.P. 1658.

82. King, Sir Robert, Ireland.

Married the widow of Viscount Wimbledon, through whom he was possessed of Cecil House, in the Strand. M.P. Irish Parliament 1634, 1639, and 1640. Constable of the Castle of Alboyle, Roscommon. He distinguished himself at the battle of Ballintober. 1645, Governor of the Province of Ulster. 1650, trustee of the New University of Durham. M.P. in England 1654 and 1656.

83. King, Henry, Norfolk.

In a decree issued against him in 1664, described as Henry King, esquire, of Norwich, gentleman. 1642-7, Commissioner Assessments, Taxes, and Sequestrations. 1654, Commissioner for the Ejection of Scandalous Ministers.

84. Lambert, Major-General John.‡

Entered the army at the commencement of the Civil War. Fought at the battles of Nantwich, Marston Moor and the Siege of Pontefract. Having "a subtle and working brain," and his legal education qualifying him, he was the spokesman of the Army grievances. One of the King's judges. 1656, Lord of the Manor of Wimbledon. M.P. 1659. Took a prominent part in affairs in the closing years of the Commonwealth. Arrested at the Restoration, he was sent prisoner to Guernsey, where he remained in confinement until his death in 1683.

85. *Langdon*, Francis, Cornwall.

Of Keverall St. Martins, and "of an ancient and honourable family." Justice of the Peace.

86. Langley, John, London City.

Alderman, merchant, and shipowner of the City of London. 1659, Admiralty Commissioner.

87. Lawrence, Henry, Hertford.

Son of Sir John Lawrence, of St. Ives. An English gentleman of ancient lineage, and a Baptist. Antony Wood notes his relationship to the leading Commonwealth families. "Cromwell was first cousin to Hampden, who was first cousin to Waller the poet, who was second cousin to Lawrence, who was cousin to Sir Gilbert Pickering, who was brother-in-law to Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich." Lawrence took his degrees of B.A. and M.A. in Cambridge University, was entered at Gray's Inn, and travelled on the Continent. Returned to the Long Parliament in 1646. In 1649 appeared his book, "Of Our Communion and War with the Angels," followed by a learned treaty on Baptism; each dedicated to his mother, the Lady Lawrence. 1653, Member of the Council of State. After the resignation of the Barbone Parliament he became President of the Council, which office he retained until the end of the Protectorate. One of Cromwell's Lords. 1659 withdrew from public life, and retired to his seat at

Goldingtons, in Hertfordshire. John Milton had a high opinion of Lawrence, and was intimate with his son.

88. Lascelles, Colonel Francis, York.*

Scion of the de Lascelles from whom are descended the Earls of Harewood. One of the King's judges. Colonel of Militia, 1651. M.P. 1654, between which date and 1660 he served on several commissions. Justice of the Peace.

89. Lockhart, Sir William, Scotland.

Laird of Lee. Spent the early part of his life in France, where he became captain of horse in the French army. During the Civil War in England he joined the King's army and was knighted by him. Nearly killed at the Battle of Preston, he was taken prisoner by General Lambert, and sent to Newcastle, obtaining his liberty by payment of £1,000. Slighted by Charles II., he left him in disgust and joined the Parliament forces, marrying soon after Robina Sewster, the niece of Cromwell. M.P. 1654. On Protector's Council in Scotland 1655. Judge of exchequer and lord of session, 1656. In the same year appointed Ambassador to France, where he had "marvellous power with Cardinal Mazarin." 1658 successfully defended Dunkirk, charging the Spanish foot and routing them. Governor of Dunkirk. Evelyn writes in his Diary December 3, 1673: "There was at dinner my Lord Lockhart, designed Ambassador to France, a gallant and sober person.'

90. Lucy, Richard, D.C.L., Warwick.

Third son of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Chalcot, the friend of Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, and grandson of the Sir Thomas of whom the irritated young Shakespeare is said to have written—

> A Parliament member, a justice of peace,
> At home a poor scarecrow, at London an ass.

Commissioner of excise and judge of probate of wills. M.P in the Protectorate Parliaments. Treasurer at War 1659. He was pardoned by the King after the Restoration.

91. *Mansell,* Colonel Bussey, Wales.

Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Glamorgan 1645. High Sheriff of Glamorgan 1646. Commissioner for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales 1650. After the resignation of the Barbone Parliament, he "walked no more" with Oliver Cromwell, and in 1659-60 welcomed the return of the King, who complimented him highly for the conduct of the business under his care.

92. *March,* Lawrence, Surrey.

Justice of the Peace.

93. Martin, Christopher, Devon.*†

One of the Martins of Plymouth. Captain John Martin of this family went round the world with Francis Drake in 1577. The Council of State ordered Christopher Martin in 1651 to

have an eye on Plymouth, to prevent the advance of the enemy to the Welsh side of the Severn. Member of the Council of State 1653. M.P. 1658 and 1660. Commissioner of militia and Governor of Pendennis Castle. Justice of the Peace.

94. Matthews, Joachim, Essex.

Commissioner for Taxes and Excise. In the Parliament of 1656-8, took a leading part in the debates on Cromwell's House of Lords. He "was not against the name of Lords, but the powers and privileges the name might imply." Justice of the Peace.

95. Mayor, Richard, Southampton.†

Of the Manor of Hursley. High Sheriff of Hampshire 1640. Commissioner of Assessments 1644. Cromwell's son Richard married Mayor's daughter Dorothy, after a long correspondence in reference to the settlements at Hursley: graphically commented upon by Carlyle. Member of the Council of State 1654, when he applied for a lease of gold and silver mines in Ireland. Justice of the Peace.

96. Monk, Major-General George.‡

Son of Sir Thomas Monk, of Merton, Devonshire. His first commission was in the Dutch army; his second in the Royalist army in England, when he was captured at Nantwich, and sent to the Tower; his third was in the Parliament Army. Fought with Cromwell at the battle of Dunbar. Commanded the forces in Scotland 1654. One of Cromwell's Lords. Proclaimed Richard Lord Protector 1658. In the following year he marched his army to London, and secured the return of the King. Loaded with honours after the Restoration, he died Duke of Albemarle 1670.

97. Montague, Colonel Edward, Huntingdonshire.†

Grandson of Lord Montague of Broughton. 1643, when eighteen years old, received a commission to raise and command a regiment under the Earl of Essex. Fought at storming of Lincoln, and at the sieges of Bridgewater and Bristol. 1646, returned to Parliament and took his seat at the Treasury Board. According to Phœnix Britannicus, he had been a sectary and for laymen's preaching, but somewhat changing his views, "left off being a soldier." Appointed General-at-Sea to command in the Mediterranean, taking part in the capture of the Spanish galleons. Montague was present at the inauguration of the Protector, sitting in the boot of the State coach with Lord Lisle. 1658, one of Cromwell's Lords. Appointed Plenipotentiary to the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, after being given the command of the Baltic fleet. Member of the Council of State. 1660, Montague came to an understanding with the King, taking command of the fleet and bringing him back to England. Created Earl of Sandwich. 1665, he put to sea with the fleet, under the

command of the Duke of York; the following year he was Ambassador at the Courts of Spain and Portugal. 1670, President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, when he joined the fleet on the breaking-out of the third Dutch War and perished in an indecisive battle, his ship, the *Royal James*, being burnt and sunk. Thirty years of his eventful life of forty-seven was spent in active service.

98. *Moyer*, Samuel, London City.†

A London citizen with the greatest financial reputation of his time. 1648 the Council of State ordered the committee for the navy to consult with Mr. Moyer. 1649 Commissioner in time of war and for compounding with delinquents and managing sequestered estates, meeting in Haberdashers' and Goldsmiths' Halls. Member of the Council of State. After a temporary disgrace on account of his connection with the Blackfriars preachers in 1655, Master of Trinity House on its incorporation, and Member of the East India Company.

99. Neast, Major William, Gloucester.

M.P. 1656. Commissioner of Public Faith 1657. Settled religious disputes at Tewkesbury, 1658. Justice of the Peace.

100. Norton, Colonel Richard, Southampton.*†

Cromwell's "Idle Dick." 1643 High Sheriff of Hampshire. Colonel of horse under the Earl of Manchester. 1644 in command of Parliament forces at the siege of Basing House, and the next year captured a troop of horse near Winchester. M.P. Long and the successive Protectorate Parliaments. 1655 Governor of Portsmouth. Member of the Council of State.

101. Odingsells, John, Nottinghamshire.

Of Rose Park, Notts. Commissioner, High Court of Justice, 1655. Justice of the Peace.

102. Ogle, Captain Henry, Northumberland.

Deputy-Lieut. Northumberland, 1644. High Sheriff of the county 1645. At Newcastle in 1655, he raised a militia troop of 400 horse and men, well mounted. Having listed his number, he cashiered six for swearing, and turned off others for ungodliness. It was dubbed "the holy troop."

103. Pheasant, Stephen, Huntingdonshire.

M.P. 1654, and Commissioner for the Ejection of Scandalous Ministers.

104. Phillips, Captain James, Wales.

High Sheriff of Pembroke, 1650. M.P. in the Protectorate Parliaments.

105. Pickering, Sir Gilbert, Bart., Northampton.*†

M.P. Long Parliament 1640. Joined the army under Fairfax 1645; afterwards Colonel of Horse under the new model. One of the King's judges. Member of the Council of State, 1650;

One of Cromwell's Lords; Lord Chamberlain to the Protector Richard, 1658. He escaped the penalty of the regicides on the Restoration. Pepys wrote in 1684, that he had dined with Sir Gilbert and the Earl of Sandwich, at Drayton Manor, where he met them in the gardens "too spacious and glorious for description."

106. *Plumstead,* Edward, Suffolk.

A prominent member of the Society of Friends, who defended the Quakers against the slanders of their detractors.

107. Pratt, Colonel John, Leicestershire.

Surveyor of Wigton's Hospital, Leicester.

108. *Price,* Captain Richard, Wales.

High Sheriff of Montgomeryshire, 1650, afterwards served the same office in Cardigan. Had the reputation of being "a doubtful saint."

109. *Pyne,* Colonel John, Somerset.*†

M.P. Long Parliament, and during the Protectorate Member of the Council of State. A Justice of the Peace friendly to the Quakers.

110. *Reeve,* Major William, Hertford.

111. Roberts, Sir William, Middlesex.†

Allied to the Atyes, of the Manor of Hampstead, to which he succeeded. "Fled to Holland for fear of the bishops, before the meeting of the Long Parliament." On his return was feofee under the Act for taking away all archbishops, &c. One of the King's judges. Member of the Council. Auditor of the Treasury 1656. One of Cromwell's Lords.

112. *Rogers,* Captain Wroth, Hereford.

Governor of Hereford, 1649. High Sheriff of Herefordshire, 1656. M.P. successive Protectorate Parliaments.

113. Rous, Francis, THE SPEAKER.*†

114. Rous, Colonel Anthony, Cornwall.†

Kinsman of Francis Rous. Governor of Scilly, 1646. Member of the Council of State. M.P. in all the Protectorate Parliaments. Vice-Admiral of South Cornwall, 1659. Justice of the Peace.

115. Sadler, Major John, Cambridge.†

Governor of Holt Castle, 1649. Judge of the Court of Admiralty, 1652. Member of the Council of State. M.P. Protectorate Parliaments. Commissioner for Approbation of Public Preachers, 1654. Justice of the Peace.

116. St. Nicholas, John, Warwick.

117. *St. Nicholas,* Thomas, York.†

Steward of the Court of Chancery, 1651. Member of the Council of State. Recorder of the City of Canterbury. Ap-

pointed Clerk of the Parliament, *vice* Henry Scobell, esquire, 1659.

118. Salway, Major Richard, Worcester.*†

Second son of Humphrey Salway, M.P., a gentleman of ancient family in Worcestershire. M.P. Long Parliament, 1644. Commissioner to Worcester on its surrender. One of the King's judges. Member of the Council of State. Commissioner to Scotland, 1651. Ambassador to Constantinople, 1654. M.P. 1658. Cromwell bore witness to Salway's "great endowments." "Salway is a man of great parts," wrote Maidstone, the Governor of Connecticut.

119. Sanders, Major Thomas, Devon.

Governor of Exeter Castle, 1649. Commander of the Fort at Plymouth, 1654. M.P. 1654, 1658. Justice of the Peace, maintaining that the magistrate had nothing to do with meddling in matters of religion.

120. *Sanrey,* John, Lancaster.

Sequestration Commissioner, 1652. As Justice of the Peace, George Fox was brought before him. Commissioner Public Faith, 1657.

121. Sidney, Colonel Philip, Kent.*†

Viscount Lisle, elder son of the Earl of Leicester. He and his brother, Algernon Sidney, joined the Parliament on the breaking out of the Civil War. Served under Fairfax as Colonel of Foot. M.P. for Yarmouth, 1644. Governor of Carlisle, 1645. One of the King's judges. Member of the Council of State. Ambassador to Sweden and Commissioner Dutch Treaty. One of Cromwell's Lords. Succeeded to the Earldom of Leicester, 1677.

122. *Smith,* Edward, Leicester.

Purchased part of the Manors of Whitburn and Fladbury for £2,431 0s. 4d.

123. Spence, William, Sussex.

Commissioner Assessments, 1644. M.P. 1658. Justice of the Peace.

124. Squibb, Arthur, Middlesex.

Teller of the Exchequer, 1650. Commissioner at Goldsmith's Hall, 1652. Justice of the Peace.

125. *Stapeley,* Colonel Anthony, Sussex.*†

Married the sister of the Earl of Norwich. Sat in the Long and the Protectorate Parliaments. Governor of Chichester, 1643. One of the King's judges. Member of the Council of State. On Committee Public Faith, 1657.

126. Stone, Captain John, London City.†

Haberdasher and financier. Commissioner of Excise. Member of the Council of State. Receiver-General of Assessments,

1654. Teller of the Exchequer and Auditor of Treasury. Sat in the successive Protectorate Parliaments.

127. Strickland, Walter, York.*†

Brother of Sir William Strickland, of Boynton Hall. Parliament sent Walter to the Hague as Resident Ambassador, 1642. M.P. Minehead, 1646. Justice of the Peace, Commissioner Taxes, and Visitor of Oxford University, 1647. Returned to his duties at the Hague, receiving the thanks of the House, 1648. Member of the Council of State. M.P. 1654 and 1656. One of Cromwell's Lords.

128. *Studeley,* Nathaniel, Sussex.

Commissioner Assessments and Taxes, 1644-5, and Commissioner Public Faith, 1657. Justice of the Peace.

129. *Sweet,* Richard, Devon.

Militia Commissioner, 1650.

130. *Swinton,* John, of Swinton.†

"Nineteenth baron of that ancient and once powerful family." The Laird of Swinton, quitting the King's party, went openly over to Cromwell in 1650. On accepting the nomination to the Barbone Parliament, an Act was passed in the Scotch Parliament forfeiting his life, honours, estates and goods. When Cromwell gained the upper hand, Swinton "was restored to blood," and became Member of the Scotch Council of State, Judge of Exchequer, and Lord of Session. Excommunicated by the Presbyterians, and being soon out of harmony with the Commonwealth leaders, he joined the Quakers. At the Restoration the Marquis of Argyle and Lord Swinton were detained close prisoners in Edinburgh. Deported to London to suffer the sentence of death, Swinton escaped the fate of his companions.

131. Sydenham, Colonel William, Dorset.*†

Commoner of Trinity College, Oxford; student in the Inns of Court. Brother of the eminent physician, "the father of English medicine," from whom the Sydenham Society took its name. Defended Poole and captured Dorchester, 1643-4. Governor of Melcombe Regis; of Weymouth in 1645, and the Isle of Wight in 1649. M.P. Long Parliament. Member of the Council of State. One of Cromwell's Lords. Vice-Admiral for Hants.

132 *Taylor,* Nathaniel, Bedford.

Recorder of Colchester, and Clerk of the Commonwealth.

133 Templer, Colonel Dudley, Essex.

Commissioner of Public Faith, 1657. Justice of the Peace: committed William Allen, the Quaker, as a disturber of the peace.

134 Thompson, Colonel William, Lincoln.†

Alderman of Lincoln. Commissioner Taxes, 1647. Member of the Council of State. Commanded in the Militia.

135 Tichborne, Sir Robert, London City.†

One of London's greatest Lord Mayors. Captain in Sir John Woolaston's regiment, 1643. Twice held the office of Lieutenant of the Tower. One of the King's judges. Sheriff of London, 1650; Lord Mayor, 1656; when, it is stated, that "both by land and water there were notable pageants never since surpassed." During his year of office he preached a sermon and published it—"The Saint's Victory over Death." It was republished 143 years afterwards by the Rev. John Duncan, LL.D. One of Cromwell's Lords. Member of the Council of State. M.P. 1654. After the Restoration escaped the fate of a regicide with difficulty, and died in captivity.

136. Tomlinson, Colonel, Sir Matthew.†‡

Of an ancient family in Yorkshire. Defeated the Royalists near Wallingford 1645. One of the King's judges. Attended Charles on the scaffold, receiving from him his gold toothpick case as an acknowledgment of the Colonel's civility. Commissioner for Ireland 1652. Member of the Irish Council 1658. One of Cromwell's Lords. Knighted 1659. Suspended and impeached 1660.

137. Walcot, Humphrey, Lincoln.

Commissioner Assessments 1643. Justice of the Peace.

138. Warner, Samuel, Cambridge.

High Sheriff of Cambridge 1656.

139. *West,* Colonel William, Lancaster.

Trustee for the Maintenance of Ministers, 1649. When Clerk of the Assizes at Lancaster refused to issue a warrant against George Fox, although the judge had commanded it. M.P. 1658. Raised a volunteer force of 1,000 men 1659.

140. *Williams,* John, Wales.†

Commissioner for Propagation of the Gospel in Wales 1649. Member of the Council of State. High Sheriff of Brecon 1654. Justice of the Peace.

141. Wingfield, Augustine, Middlesex.

London Assessor 1648. Militia Commissioner 1650.

142. Wolseley, Sir Charles, Oxfordshire.

Eldest son of the first Baronet. M.P. 1654. Visitor to Oxford University. One of Cromwell's Lords. M.P. 1660. He led in the last debate of the Barbone Parliament, and was "the most faithful and affectionate friend of Henry Cromwell."

143. Wood, Major Thomas, Berks.

Commissioner of Excise 1654, and for the Approbation of Public Preachers.

144. Woolmer, Major Ralph, Norfolk.

Received his commission as Major in the Militia 1651. Commissioner for the Ejection of Scandalous Ministers 1654.

CHAPTER VI.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT BY CROMWELL.

Cromwell Opens Parliament.

On a very hot day, 4th July, 1653, less than three months from the dismissal of the Long Parliament, the members of the new representative assembled at Whitehall. The Council Chamber had been prepared for their reception; each one as he presented his card at the door passing on to the chairs that had been placed round the table. There were about one hundred and twenty members present. Cromwell, surrounded by his officers, standing by the window opposite the middle of the table, commenced by apologising to his audience on seeing them sitting somewhat uneasily by reason of the scantness of the room and the heat of the weather. Without further introduction he made his first reported speech.

Gives his Reasons for Dissolving the Long Parliament.

The Lord General recalled the circumstances attending the abrupt termination of the late Parliament, how he had expostulated with the members of it because of their utter inability to work a reformation, even in the law on which they had bestowed great pains and precious time, quoting the by-word that many months were not enough to settle the meaning of the word "incumbrances." He detailed their procrastinating conduct in the matter of providing for a successor; accused them of the intention not to give the right of choice to the people in the proposed new representative, but only to recruit the House the better to perpetuate themselves; called attention to the fact that he had desired them to devolve the trust to some well-affected men to the Commonwealth, which he had told them was no new thing when the land was under like hurly-burlys; claimed

that he had produced precedents out of history[71] to convince them of it, and it was confessed by them to be no new thing; stated that he had previously interviewed their leading men and recommended a selected representative, as a haphazard election on the old method would have inevitably resulted in anarchy; asserted that as the House intended to rush an unconsidered measure for a new representative, he had resolved to use his powers by summarily dismissing it; blamed them for having at one time, as the result of the blood shed in the Civil Wars and years of effort to secure liberty, endeavoured a treaty with the King, whereby they would have put into his hands all that they had engaged for, with the only security of "a little bit of paper"; and adverted to their conduct concerning the establishment of a preaching ministry in Wales, how singularly that business was trodden underfoot to the discountenancing of the honest people, "so that good was never intended to the people of God, meaning the large comprehension of them under the several forms of godliness in the nation."

Vindicates his Integrity.

Having vindicated the integrity of his purpose to divest the sword of all power in the civil administration by thus calling the new representatives together, he reiterated that his chief objection to the Parliament he had dissolved in April had been discountenancing the honest people, the poor people of God. Finding, he said, which way the spirit of men went that good was never intended, that all tenderness was forgotten to the good people (though it was by their means and the blessing of God that those sat where they did), he thought it a bad requital. He besought their successors to "love the sheep, love the lambs, love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that were good. And if the poorest

[71] A nominated Parliament was summoned by writ, Jan. 14, 1553, six months before the death of Edward VI. Northumberland, anxious to fill the Lower House with men who could be depended upon, writs to the Sheriffs and Mayors that there may be chosen out of every county personages of wisdom and experience, men of gravity and knowledge, simply naming the persons to be elected; and wrote letters to the persons nominated, requiring them to foresee that either for "the country where ye abide ye be chosen knight, or else to have some other place." The freeholders or electors were to be given to understand that the directions thus given should be regarded as to be followed. The election of members of Parliament, as Mr. Froude observes, was to be the same as that of the bishops, by *congé de lire*.

Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live quietly and peacefully under you, let him be protected. I had rather miscarry to a believer than an unbeliever," he said, in his paradoxical way, and he thought that he need not to advise, much less press upon them, "the promoting of the Gospel and the encouragement of such a ministry as may be faithful in the land."

He anticipated a glorious comprehensive Church, not sectarian, but broad as the Gospel of Christ itself. The sixty-eighth Psalm to him prefigured its triumph. His anticipation soared high above Episcopacy and Presbytery and Anabaptists and saints glorying in being a peculiar people, to an innumerable company whose bond of unity was to be God in the heart and love of all men. That seemed to be his only test of Christian fellowship. Catching the spirit of the Psalmist, he uses his words as the glorious vision of the Church of God bursts upon his view: "Surely, when God sets up the glory of His Gospel Church it shall be the gathering of peoples out of deep waters, out of the multitudes of the nations and peoples of the world. When He gave the word, great was the company of them that published it. Kings of the armies did flee apace, and he that tarried at home divided the spoil. . . . And indeed the triumph of that psalm is exceeding high and great, and God is accomplishing it; and the close of it, that closeth with my heart and I am persuaded with yours also. God shakes the hills and mountains that they reel. And God has a hill too, and His hill is as the hill of Basan; and the chariots of God are twenty thousands of angels, and God will dwell on this hill for ever."[72]

Anticipates a Glorious Gospel Church.

Sorry for having troubled them in such a place of heat so long, Cromwell produced the "Instrument in Writing," wherein he devolved the supreme authority and government of the Commonwealth into the hands of the persons there met.

Among the folio sheets in the library of the British Museum there is a print of the Assembly. The House is arranged similarly to that of the present chamber at Westminster, benches on each side, with the Speaker's chair and Clerk's table in the centre. The interior is entirely destitute of ornamentation, the

[72] Harleian MSS.

seats being occupied by long rows of gentlemen all sitting covered, wearing black cloaks, white collars, and shovel hats over their long hair, suggestive more of a caricature than of an accurate description of the dress and deportment of the members. It disposes, however, of the myth of short-cropped "roundheads," except in relation to the army or navy.

The First Day of the Meeting spent in Prayer.

There was no business before the House on the first day the members took their seats. It was a day of humiliation and devotion. No minister being present, "seven of the members continued in course the word of exhortation and prayer."[73] Some of the representatives affirmed that they never enjoyed so much of the presence and spirit of Christ in any of their meetings and exercises of religion as they did that day.[74] On reassembling the next morning the first business was the election of a Speaker. Without challenge the choice fell upon Francis Rous, Provost of Eton, then seventy-four years of age; but still active in mind, although failing somewhat in physical health. The veteran Parliamentarian could not have had a competitor in his unique experience of Parliamentary practice. He seems to have accepted office on the understanding that the daily sessions of the House should not ordinarily exceed four hours, eight a.m. to twelve noon, "he being aged." The Standing and other Committees met in the afternoon, where the chief part of the discussions took place without limitation of time.

Assembly Declares itself a Parliament, and brings back the Mace.

After a few days of preliminary business, in which the Convention assumed the title of the Parliament of England; ordered that the Mace[75] should be used as formerly, and had given instructions to the Council of State, it was resolved that no person should be employed or admitted into its service except such as the House should be first satisfied of his real goodness. Another day (the next time a day of prayer was proposed it passed in the negative) was spent in seeking in a special manner for counsel and blessing on the proceedings of Parliament

[73] The Exact Relation of the Transactions of the late Parliament, their Beginning and Ending. By L D., a Member of the late Parliament, 1654. [74] Impartial Intelligencer. [75] Three months before Cromwell had dismissed the Long Parliament, with the exclamation "Take away that bauble!"

"only with themselves unto God."[76] About twelve of the Members "prayed and spake, and about four in the afternoon adjourned until next morning."[77] It was noted subsequently that when the Assembly met "so soon as a small number of the Members of the Parliament arrived in the House they joined in prayer, and so do every morning, one praying after the other until there be a full number to make a House, and then Mr. Speaker takes the chair."[78]

Issues a Declaration.

"The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England" then issued a Declaration: a lengthy document, in which it was devoutly asserted that the members would earnestly endeavour to demean themselves in all things as became those who were set up by God for the good of all; and in all be as tender of the lives, liberties, estates, just rights and properties of others as they were of the rights and properties of themselves. They looked forward to the country being thus governed by successive Parliaments. "Here we are, let the Lord do what is good in His own eyes!"

Petitions soon poured in daily in such numbers that after a while the House had to resolve that they would receive no more until those in hand had been disposed of. Exercising the sole authority as the supreme power, the whole business of the nation was methodically delegated to standing committees:

COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER PROPRIETY OF INCUMBENTS IN TITHES (July 19.)—Colonel Barton, *Barbone*, Blount, Cooper, Colonel Clark, *Courtney*, Desborough, *Danvers*, Frere, Gill, *Harrison*, *Herring*, *Highland*, Horseman, *Jaffray*, *Kenrick*, *Moyer*, *Plumstead*, Roberts, Sadler, Strickland, Sydenham, Squibb, Stone, *Spence*, *Swinton*, Tichborne, Colonel Rous, Wingfield, *Taylor*, Woolmer, *West*.—32.

COMMITTEE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND (July 20.)—F. Brewster, Colonel Clark, Mr. Clark, Cromwell, H. Cromwell, Frere, Gookin, Hutchinson, Hewson, Sir R. King, Lambert, *Mansell*, Jones, *Spence*, *West*.—15.

COMMITTEE FOR POOR, AND REGULATING COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE (July 20).—Baldwin, *Earrington*, Colonel Barton, Brooke, G. Bennett, Cater, *Chelwood*, *Draper*, *Green*, *Langdon*, Ogle, Sanders, *T. St. Nicholas*, Thompson, Wood.—15.

COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER PUBLIC DEBTS, BRIBERY, FRAUDS, &c. (July 20).—Bingham, Castle, *Coats*, *Cust*, Boutell, Duckenfield,

[76] Exact Relation. [77] Weekly Intelligencer. [78] Several Proceedings.

Eure, Hildesley, *Kenrick*, Lascelles, Montague, *Pheasant*, Pickering, *Reeve*, Sadler, *Sawrey*, Strickland, Sweet.—18.

COMMITTEE PRISONS AND PRISONERS (July 20.)—*Anlaby*, *Baker*, *Bellot*, *Broughton*, *Brown*, Cooper, Cullen, *Danvers*, *Eyre*, *V. Goddard*, *Herring*, *Highland*, *James*, Jones, *March*, Pratt, *Price*, *Rogers*, Sadler, *St. Nicholas*, Tichborne, Wingfield, *Williams*.—23.

COMMITTEE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING (July 21.)—Colonel Barton, *Blount*, Cooper, *Cust*, Dr. Goddard, Sir R. King, Lawrence, Lockhart, Matthews, Montague, Roberts, Sadler, *Spence*, J. St. Nicholas, Tichborne, Wingfield, Strickland, Sydenham.—18.

COMMITTEE OF THE LAW (July 20).—Mr. Barton, *Colonel Bennet*, Bennett, *Blount*, J. Brewster, Boutell, Brownlow, *Broughton*, *Coats*, Cooper, Desborough, Gill, *Hope*, *Hollister*, *Harrison*, Mr. King, *Moyer*, Roberts, Sadler, *Spence*, *St. Nicholas*, *Stapely*, *Swinton*, *Taylor*, Tomlinson, *West*, Jones, Wingfield.—28.

COMMITTEE FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—Cooper, Lawrence, Moyer Pickering, Sidney, Wolseley.—6.

COMMITTEE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND (July 20).—Broughton, Cromwell, *Danvers*, Fenwick, *Harrison*, Henley, Howard, *Jaffray*, Lambert, Lockhart, Odingsells, Ogle, J. St. Nicholas, Sanders, *Sawrey*, *Studeley*, *Taylor*, Tichborne.—18.

COMMITTEE ARMY AND NAVY (July 20).—Anlaby, Colonel Bennet, Colonel Clark, Cludd, Cust, Fleetwood, Horseman, Lockhart, Lucy, Nead, Norton, Phillips, Price, Pyne, Sydenham, West, Woolmer.—17.

COMMITTEE INSPECTING TREASURIES (July 20).—*Anlaby*, *Barrington*, *Bawden*, *Colonel Bennet*, *Birkhead*, *Blount*, *Botterell*, *Cayley*, Cunliffe, *Harrison*, Hildesley, *Ireton*, *James*, *Moyer*, *Pheasant*, Roberts, Squibb, Stone, Thompson, *West*, Woolmer.—21.

COMMITTEE FOR RECEIVING PETITIONS (July 20).—*Barbone*, Mr. Barton, *Crofts*, Dunch, *Earle*, Erisey, Frere, Dr. Goddard, *Ireton*, *Jermy*, Hildesley, Matthews, Colonel Rous.—13.

COMMITTEE TRADE AND CORPORATIONS (July 20).—*Colonel Bennet*, *Burton*, J. Clark, Dawson, Dickenson, *Dunkon*, *French*, *Holmes*, Hutchinson, *Ireton*, *Jaffray*, *Moyer*, *Plumstead*, Stone, *Sweet*, Templer, Warner, Wood.—18.

COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER NEW BODY OF THE LAW (August 19).—*Barbone*, *Colonel Bennet*, *Blount*, *Broughton*, *Harrison*, *Highland*, *Hope*, *Kenrick*, *Moyer*, Pickering, *Spence*, Squibb, *Taylor*, Wingfield, *West*, Wolseley.—16.

COMMITTEE BETTER PRESERVATION OF THE CUSTOMS (September 23).—Colonel Clark, *Courtney*, *Broughton*, *Hollister*, Howard, *Ireton*, Jones, *Moyer*, Mayor, Montague, Strickland, Tichborne.—12.

The chief discussions took place in committees of the whole House, of which there is no record in the journals of the House or elsewhere. While the special committees were ceaselessly

engaged in their work the House was mostly occupied in receiving their reports and the Bills prepared by them, necessitating the constant attendance of the members, the House being repeatedly "called," in order to discover and name the absentees.

Parliament held in high esteem.

The Parliament of 1653 has been stigmatised as having accomplished nothing. But "its history has all gone dark" because of the neglect of the historians in not referring to the Commons' journals and other available sources of information. For four months it exercised the supreme power in every department of government. It nominated a new Council of State, communicating with it by instructions; appointed Commissioners of the Admiralty and for trade and corporations; provided supplies for the army and navy, making provision for the widows and orphans of the slain in the engagements with the Dutch; and voting gold medals and the thanks of the House to the victorious commanders of the fleet, Blake and Monk. Sanctioned the treaty with Sweden, receiving the ambassador in State ceremony; being addressed by him, "Parliamento Republicæ Angliæ," by which name it was recognised by the European governments. Sent Bulstrode Whitelocke to Stockholm, arranged a treaty with Spain, and agreed upon the message to be sent to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland.

The Parliament was held in high esteem both at home and abroad. The Common Council of the City of London, noting some disparagements that had appeared concerning the House, brought a petition to it by Mr. Sheriff Eastwick in the name of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, praying that steps might be taken to prevent injurious reflections on the proceedings of Parliament, and thus preserve its honour. "We see it in your heart," said Mr. Sheriff, "to make it your chief work to provide religion in this nation, and we are come on no other errand than to beseech you to cherish your honour and preserve it." Subsequently, when Alderman Vyner came before the house for approbation as Lord Mayor Elect, after an eloquent oration from the Common Serjeant, the House was graciously pleased to order that Alderman Vyner be the Lord Mayor of the City of London for the year next ensuing.

But the great design of the Convention, as intended by Cromwell and his Council of Officers, was to complete the attempted

work of the Long Parliament in the reformation of the law, the regulation of the finances, and the settlement of religion. The following synopsis shows what the Barbone Parliament did and what it intended to do in furtherance of the object.

Matters of the Law.

"The Draft of Acts."

On July 12 it was referred to the gentlemen who were heretofore (on the similar committee in the previous Parliament) appointed to consider the grievances and inconveniences of the law, to supply copies to each of the Members of the Draft of Acts that had been so carefully prepared by them, that Bills might be brought in. Five days after a Bill was introduced for taking away fines upon bills, declarations, and writs, which would put an end to an extortionate practice in the Courts of Law, one of the crying evils of the time. It passed into an Act August 2.

Taking Away Fines on Bills, &c.

The Marriage Law.

On August 8 Colonel Blount reported from the Committee of the Law a Bill touching marriages and the registration thereof, and also of births and burials. After many debates, the Act was passed August 24, making the ceremony of marriage a civil obligation, and providing for the due registration of births, marriages, and deaths throughout the Commonwealth. The Act abolished a clerical monopoly and instituted a system of national registration.

Prisons and Prisoners.

The Committee on prisons and prisoners was authorised (August 15) to bring in a Bill for the redress of the general grievance touching prisons and prisoners, intended to remedy the scandal of debtors being sued for five hundred pounds when they only owed twenty, so that execution meant in most cases perpetual imprisonment. Many thousands of prisoners for debt had already petitioned the Lord General, remonstrating against the illegality of arrests, outlawries, and imprisonment for debt. The Act passed October 5, providing for seventeen judges to hear and determine causes of imprisonment, and abate and give respite according to their judgment.

A Bill was introduced (September 29) touching wills and

administrations. After continuous discussion, it had not reached its third reading when the House resigned.

Idiots and Lunatics.

The Bill touching idiots, lunatics, and infants was reported October 3, and the Act passed on the 13th. Since the Court of Wards had been abolished, in 1645, the estates of lunatics and others had been much wasted and embezzled from. For the future the Act provided that the custodians of lunatics should be required to obtain the authority of the Council of State before applying for a warrant of the Great Seal.

On October 17 a Bill for hearing causes and making orders in Chancery was read a first and second time. It was also ordered that a Bill be brought in for a way of determining the causes now depending in Chancery. It never reached the stage of passing into an Act.

Redress of Delays.

On October 26 a Bill for redress of delays and mischiefs arising by writs of error and writs of false judgments was read first and second time, and passed on November 4. It dealt with a vexatious oppression on suitors at law. Several Proceedings remarked upon it: "There are inconveniences in the prosecution of causes which concern clients, as, namely, when defendants will wilfully stand out all process of contempt (which, according to the rules prescribed by the six clerks requires a year's time to prosecute) and then pay forty shillings costs and make an insufficient answer, and that being overruled, stand out all process of contempt as at first, and then make a second insufficient answer; and so a third and a fourth, so that sometimes defendants cannot be compelled to make perfect answers for two or three years." The Act effected a much-needed reform of the law.

Attempts to Abolish the High Court of Chancery.

Whilst the House was engaged in the accomplishment of this practical work the Harrisonian minority persistently advocated the destruction of the existing courts of law as a preliminary to the coming Kingdom of the Messiah. They succeeded in passing a resolution that the High Court of Chancery in England should forthwith be taken away. The resolution was, however, accompanied by an order that it be referred to the Committee of the Law[79] to

[79] One of the misrepresentations of the time was the assertion that the Parliament nominated a committee to consider the law without a single

consider how the causes now depending in Chancery might be determined, and likewise a provision for determining for the future matters of equity, and to bring in a Bill for the purpose. The order was added by the law reformers to prevent the disaster of an abolition of Chancery before a scheme had been matured for taking its place. Certainly a drastic scheme was desirable. It was confidently affirmed, said the writer of Exact Relation by many gentlemen of worth, there were depending in Chancery twenty-three thousand cases, some of them had been depending five, some ten, some twenty, some thirty years or more, to the utter undoing of many families.

A New Body of the Law.

On August 19 a committee was appointed to consider "a new body of the law." After a division, in which the yeas were 47 and the noes 37, the committee met and, with considerable labour, threshed out a scheme for a simple codification of the law. It came to nothing.[80]

Not satisfied with merely removing some of the abuses of the

lawyer among its members. It was notoriously untrue. On the Committee appointed by the Long Parliament to report the Draft of Acts for removing inconveniences of the law, in 1651-2, presided over by the distinguished lawyer, Mr. Matthew Hale, were the following gentlemen: Colonel Blount, brought up in the Inns of Court, and a noted justiciary in Kent; Major-General Desborough, bred an attorney; Colonel Tomlinson, a learned civilian; Sir William Roberts, of the Inner Temple; Samuel Moyer, afterwards Judge of Probate of Wills; John Sadler, afterwards Master of Requests; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who entered at Lincoln's Inn in 1638; Gervaise Bennett, Judge of Probate of Wills and Commissioner for Appeals; Colonel Barton, M.A., Oxford, and Judge of Probate of Wills; Thomas St. Nicholas, Steward of the Court of Chancery; and Nathaniel Taylor, Clerk in Chancery. All of the above were on the Committee of the Law in the Barbone Parliament.

[80] Vote for the new body of the law passed not without large debate. There were many angry debates as to whether it should be a "new model" or a "new body," as if they intended to destroy the law by the use of the latter word. . . . The way the committee took in order to their work that needs must be elaborate was by reducing the several laws to their proper heads, to which they did belong; and so modelizing and embodying of them, taking knowledge of the nature of them, and what the law of God said in the case, and how agreeable to right reason they were; likewise how proportionable the punishment was to the offence or crime; and wherein they seemed anything either different or excessive to offer a supply or remedy, in order to rectify the whole. A great work, by means of which the great volumes of the law would come to be reduced to the *bigness of a pocket book (!)* Yet they were sober and moderate gentlemen, simply opposed to being ruled for the future by the custom "time out of mind."—Exact Relation.

law, the Harrisonian party, having secured a majority in the committee of the law, reported a Bill for taking away the High Court of Chancery, and appointing commissioners and judges to hear and determine as well causes now depending as also future matters of equity; and putting in order other matters of law which were within the jurisdiction of that court, and regulating divers abuses in the courts of common law. The Bill contained some novel propositions, one of them that a certain number of able and godly men be appointed to alter all Bills before they be filed, for the prevention of many vexatious suits, and suits altogether improper for the jurisdiction of the court.[81] So the suitor must first gain the consent of able and godly men in committee before he could exercise the privilege of an action at law. The Bill was read a first and second time and committed, never again making its appearance in the House.

Bill introduced for taking away the Court of Chancery.

As far as the law was concerned the House successfully resisted the attempts of the visionary enthusiasts among them to abolish the law courts, passing several useful Acts amending some of the crying evils disgracing the administration of justice.

Matters of Finance.

The House passed Acts constituting Commissioners for ordering and managing the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy, for the proper bringing the receipts of the revenue into the Treasury, and for accompts and public debts. By these and other enactments, it initiated a new system of public accounts. William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, in his "Proceedings of the Wednesdays Club," 1716, stated that "in the time of the usurpation the receipts of the several branches of the public revenue were extricated from the old perplexed forms, and being reduced into one channel, a plain and easy method was laid down and pursued with such exactness that the payments were brought to near as great a facility and certainty as in Venice or Holland; but upon the Restoration (in opposition, it seems, to whatever the usurpers had done, right or wrong), the old intricate forms were again resumed,

[81] Several Proceedings.

and the disorders both in the receipts and payments were not only continued but increased."

Equalisation of Taxes.

A long-continued effort was made, not only to equalise the assessments of England and Wales, but to equalise taxation throughout the Commonwealth. The House resolved itself into a grand committee on the subject, and had very nearly completed an exhaustive scheme before its resignation. It had a Bill under discussion for the advancement and regulation of trade, and the rates of excise were revised in a list of taxed articles that would bear comparison with the bulky tomes of tariffs of modern times.[82]

The Irish Act.

One of the most important Acts passed by the Parliament was that for the speedy and effectual satisfaction of adventurers for lands in Ireland, and for arrears due to the soldiery there, and for encouragement of Protestants to plant and inhabit Ireland. Its discussion spead over many days. In a debate in Parliament (March 23, 1659), one of the Members, alluding to this Act, said: "In 1653 you had a total recovery of that nation (Ireland). You had no mind to lose it. An Act was made in the Little Parliament which was a good Act to encourage your plantation there."[83] The Act also, for deafforestation, authorising the sale and improvements of land heretofore belonging to the late King, and the appointment of trustees, and proper registry, diminished the enormous bulk of the crown lands. Many tracts of fertile land must have been reclaimed under the Act before the Restoration.

Act for Assessments.

A long Act of thirty printed folios reached its last stage on November 24, for the assessment at the rate of £120,000 a month for the maintenance of the Army and Navy. It was bitterly debated by the Harrisonian party, who advocated large reductions in the pay of the soldiery. From the comments made the object of Harrison and his followers

[82] Three days were spent in passing the rates particularly by vote. The old and new drapery, hats, caps, and tobacco pipes were by vote exempted from the duty of excise. The Bill following, in order of the rates, was very large—about fifty-eight sheets of paper. Spent a whole day in hearing it read; and there appeared so many snares and difficulties in it as to trade, as was judged no way fit to be put on a people that expected freedom at the price of their blood and treasure by them spent in the late war; whereupon, by general consent it was laid aside.—Exact Relation. [83] Burton's Diary.

seemed to have been the abolition not only of tithes and Chancery, but of all existing authority. The Army must be rendered powerless, although it was the only power left to give cohesion to the Commonwealth. Particularly must the officers on the Council of State have been annoyed at the part taken by Harrison in the matter. He owed his wealth and his position to the Army. When Lieutenant of the Ordnance he was allowed sixpence in the pound on all moneys expended to artificers, &c., in addition to his salary as Major General, said to have been in time of war £10,000 a year. Yet he was found insisting on the strictest economy in the payment of officers of a lower grade.

Acts of the Parliament.

1. Act appointing a committee Army and Treasurers of War, for the more effectual bringing in and orderly disposing of the moneys payable upon assessment.

2. Act touching receipts of the revenue, to inquire into the state of the revenues and treasuries belong to the Commonwealth.

3. Act constituting Commissioners of the Admiralty, for the better ordering and managing of the affairs of the Navy of the Commonwealth.

4. Act for settling jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty, and the appointment of judges therein.

5. Act for taking away fines on bills, declarations and original writs.

6. Act for stating and determining the accounts of officers and soldiers in Ireland, and issuing additional debentures.

7. Act for erecting High Court of Justice for the trial of prisoners implicated in the designs of Charles Stuart.

8. Act touching marriages and registering thereof; and also touching births and burials: purpose the establishment of civil marriage and the registration of births and deaths.

> *Be it enacted* by the authority of the present Parliament that whosoever shall agree to be married within this Commonwealth of England, after September 29, 1653, shall one and twenty days at least before such intended marriage deliver in writing, or cause to be delivered unto the persons hereinafter appointed under this Act, for the respective parish where each party to be married liveth, the names, surnames, additions, and place of abode of the parties to be

married, and of their parents, guardians, or overseers; all which the said register shall publish or cause to be published three several days then next following, at the close of the morning exercise, in the public meeting place commonly called the church or chapel; or if the parties so to be married shall desire it, in the market place next the said church or chapel, on the market days in three several weeks next following, between the hours of eleven and two, which being so performed, the register shall, upon request of the parties concerned, make a true certificate of the performance thereof, without which certificate the persons hereinafter authorised shall not proceed in such marriage; and if any exception shall be made against the said intended marriage, the register shall also insert the same, with the name of the person making such exception, and the place of abode, in the said certificate of publication.

And be it further enacted, that all such persons so intending to be married shall come before some justice of the peace within and of the same county, city, or town corporate, where publication shall be made as aforesaid, and shall bring a certificate of the said publication, and shall make sufficient proof of the consent of their parents or guardians, if either of the said parties shall be under the age of twenty-one years; and the said justice shall examine by witnesses upon oath or otherwise as he shall see cause, and also of any exception made or arising; and if there appear no reasonable cause to the contrary, the marriage shall proceed in this manner:

The man to be married, taking the woman to be married by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words: I, A. B., do here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee, C. D., for my wedded wife; and do also in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband. And the woman, taking the man by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words: I, C. D., do here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee, A. B., for my wedded husband, and do also in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving, faithful, and obedient wife.

And it is further enacted that the man and woman having made sufficient proof of the consent of their parents or guardians as aforesaid, and expressed their consent unto marriage, in the manner and by the words aforesaid, before such justice of the peace, in the presence of two or more credible witnesses; the said justice of the peace may and shall declare the said man and woman to be henceforth husband and wife, and from and after such consent so expressed, and such declaration made, the same as to the form of marriage whatsoever within this Commonwealth of England, after the 29th day of September, 1653, shall be held or accounted a marriage according to the laws of England.

Registration.—And that a true and just account may be always kept as well as publications of all such marriages, and also of the births of children and deaths of all sorts of persons within this Commonwealth:

Be it further enacted, that a book of good vellum or parchment shall be provided by every parish, for the safe keeping of which book the inhabitants and householders of every parish chargeable for the relief of the poor, or the greater part of them present, shall on or before 22nd September, 1653, make choice of some able and honest person (such as shall be sworn and approved by one justice of the peace in that parish, division, or county, and so signified under his hand in the said register book) to have the keeping of said book, who shall therein fairly enter in writing all such publication of marriages, births of children, and burials of all sorts of persons, and the names of every of them, and the days of the month and year of publications of marriages, births, and burials, and the parents', guardians', and overseers' names. And the register of such parish shall attend the justice of the peace to subscribe the entry of every such marriage. And the person so elected, approved and sworn, shall be called the Parish Register. And the said justice of the peace (if so desired) shall give unto the parties so married a certificate in parchment under his hand and seal of such marriage and the solemnisation thereof, and of two or more of the witnesses then present.

The Act was enforced throughout the country until 1660, when all the Commonwealth legislation was struck out of the Statute Book. It then became necessary to pass an Act legalising the marriages performed during the previous seven years. Numbers of the old parish registers are still evidence of the practical legislation of the Barbone Parliament, both in the marriage law and the institution of a regular system of registration of births, marriages, and deaths. "There is no doubt," remarks the Rev. Brooke Lambert in his Papers on Tamworth Church Registers, "that the changes then made (the basis of much future legislation) were right, and had the Commonwealth regulations been maintained, we should never have had those clandestine marriages, of which the Fleet marriages are best known."

It is amusing to note the rush for the celebration of marriage by the old Church form which took place during the week previous to the Act of 1653 coming into operation. "Sure the sign is now in Gemini," reported the "Weekly Intelligencer," "there were yesterday twenty-nine marriages in one church, and twenty-five in another. There is a poor blind alley hard by, not above eight houses in all, and in four of them the parties are agreed, and are gone to be married."

9. Act for speedily bringing in arrears of excise.

Purpose: Committee of twenty-two appointed to examine

all parties in arrear, and having settled the amount due to them, to sequester their estates if not promptly paid.

10. Act concerning planters of tobacco in England.

Purpose: To authorise all persons in the county of Gloucester and elsewhere in England, who had grown or cured manufactured tobacco, to hold and enjoy it, any Act to the contrary notwithstanding. Cured tobacco to pay 3d. in the "neat" pound to the excise.

11. Act for continuance of receipts of excise until December 29, 1653.

Purpose: To keep in force excise Acts of the last Parliament.

12. Act for the sale of the remaining fee farm rents, and finishing the whole affair.

Purpose: To provide that when public trustees sold lands or fee farm rents, the purchaser would have to take the responsibility of existing charges thereon.

13. Act for continuance of the privileges and jurisdictions of the County Palatine of Lancaster.

14. Act for the speedy and effectual satisfaction of adventurers in Ireland, and for the arrears due to the soldiery there, and of the public debts, and for the encouragement of Protestants to plant and inhabit Ireland. A long Act, covering sixty printed folios.

By this Act for transplanting the Irish it was enacted that one moiety of the forfeited lands in Ireland should be awarded for arrears of soldiers' pay at the rate of: In Leinster 1,000 acres £600; in Munster 1,000 acres £450; and in Ulster 1,000 acres £200, with all the advantages of bog, wood, and mountain. Methuselah Turner, of Cheapside, London, linendraper, and others appointed to sit in Grocers' Hall to dispose of the lands at the above rates by lottery, who were authorised to allot to maimed soldiers and widows. Soldiers were to be entitled to acquire houses in cities or walled towns by the payment of six years' purchase money. All adventurers, officers, or soldiers who proceeded to plant upon their several allotments to be protected against rebels or other enemies. The overplus of forfeited lands to be applied (not to exceed the value of £1,000 yearly rent in each county) towards erecting and maintaining free schools, and for setting up and maintaining manufactures. Commissioners from Parliament to take order for the erecting of public meeting places for the worship of God, and for laying out highways of convenient breadth, and for building and repairing bridges. Gold and silver

mines were exempted from sale as belonging to the Commonwealth.

And be it enacted and declared by the present Parliament, that it shall be lawful for all persons of what nation soever, professing the Protestant religion, to purchase or take to farm any of the aforesaid forfeited houses and lands in Ireland, not hereby disposed of, and to inhabit, dwell, and plant in or upon them or any of them in any of the counties, cities, or towns mentioned in this Act, to be peopled, inhabited, and dwelt in, with all rights, privileges, freedoms, and immunities which belong unto, or be lawfully claimed by Protestant natives of this Commonwealth, both in England and Ireland.

Provided, that in case the Commissioners should find it inconvenient or dilatory to proceed in the first place to the ascertaining of titles before transplanting the Irish, it may be lawful for the said Commissioners to order and direct the transplanting of the said Irish, although their claims be not first determined.

Cromwell's policy in Ireland was the policy of the Barbone Parliament. Among its members were Henry Cromwell, who fought with his father in Ireland; Commissioner there, and afterwards administered the government of the island successfully. Vincent Gookin, who assisted in "the pacification of Ireland," and subsequently defended his conduct there by publishing "The Author and Case of Transplanting the Irish in Connaught." Colonel John Hewson, the most active officer in the Irish campaigns, and Governor of Ireland in 1649. Daniel Hutchinson, Lord Mayor of Dublin. Sir Robert King, a Member of the Irish Parliament from 1634 to 1640, and Governor of the Province of Ulster, 1645. Major Richard Salway, Commissioner to the Province of Munster, 1649 and 1651. Sir Matthew Tomlinson, Commissioner for Ireland, 1652. H. Cromwell, Gookin, Hutchinson, Hewson, and Sir R. King were on the committee of the Barbone Parliament for the affairs of Ireland.

15. Act for additional sales of forfeited lands.

16. Act for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners.

Be it enacted that [seventeen nominations] are hereby made judges to hear and determine the causes of imprisonment in the prisons of the Fleet, Gate House (West), Counter (Surrey), and Prison (Whitechapel); and where they may find any just debt due by prisoners, to make special provision out of such prisoner's estates for satisfaction of the same; and if the prisoner is held on account of debt due by another, abate and give respite according as they shall in their judgment think meet. The Act also names and appoints the judges in the several counties to visit and examine all the prisoners for debt in their respective counties, and to carry out the provisions of the Act.

The condition of the prisons had long been scandalous. In the

beginning of the year there had been a humble petition to the Lord General from many "thousands" of prisoners for debt. Other petitions remonstrated with the General on the wholesale hangings at Newgate, and begged him to take the matter into his serious consideration. As a result, in criminal cases Cromwell frequently interposed. Perfect Acconnt reported that in one week he had reprieved the whole of the prisoners sentenced to death at the Old Bailey. Faithful Post hoped that in a few days most of the poor prisoners would be set at liberty. Many of the convicts in Newgate had been kept there four, five, and seven years, some of them for the payment of debts; a great part of them having been about sixteen months secluded within "the vast contumelious misery," as Newgate was said to be.

A committee had been appointed at Whitehall to examine the Prison of the Upper Bench, of which Lenthall, the late Speaker, was the Master. It reported 450 prisoners there, including a dozen gentlemen and as many knights. In the Fleet Prison there was remaining in custody 233 persons; one who had been incarcerated for twenty-nine years for a debt of £712. Others twenty-five years for £228, nineteen years for £145, nineteen years for £27 (!), eighteen years for £100, sixteen years for £219, fifteen years for £1,000, and fourteen years for £200. The Act passed by the Barbone Parliament must have been an incalculable benefit in relieving the "contumelious misery," when the Commissioners or Judges sat constantly at Salters' Hall to effect a clearance of the overstocked gaols.

The administration of the law after the Restoration returned to its old grooves, almost to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Times of April 25, 1793, reported that there was a man confined in Newgate who had been a prisoner there for more than fifteen years for a debt the original sum of which did not exceed forty shillings!

17. Act for accompts and clearing of public debts; and for discovering frauds or concealments of anything done to the Commonwealth.

18. Act confirming sales of lands and estates of Sir John Stawell.

19. Act touching idiots and lunatics.

> Whereas the persons of idiots and lunatics have received much damage, and their estates much wasted, spoiled, and embezzled from since the 24th February, 1645, on which day the Court of Wards and Liveries were voted down, occasioned by the not settling of a way since the dissolution of the said court for passing the bills formerly signed by the late King and his predecessors, for the custodies and tuitions of the said persons, and the preservation of their respective estates; which bills were to be signed as aforesaid, before the said custodies passed to the Great Seal. For the remedy of which grievances, and for the prevention of all others in the future—
>
> *Be it enacted*, and it is hereby enacted by the authority

of Parliament, that the said Bills for passing of custodies of the persons aforesaid, under the Great Seal, shall be first signed by the Council of State for the time being. And the said Bills, being so signed, shall be sufficient warrant to the committee or Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal for the time being, to pass the same under the said Seal accordingly.

And be it further enacted, by authority aforesaid, that the said committee or Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal, shall in cases give relief in law and equity to the said lunatics and idiots, as fully and amply as any Commissioner or Keeper of the Great Seal, or the late Master and Council of Wards and Liveries, might or ought to have done at any time before the passing of this Act, any law, statutes or Acts to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

21. Act enabling the Commissioners of Parliament for compounding with delinquents to dispose of two parts of the lands and estates of recusants for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

Purpose: To fine recusants (chiefly Romanists) sixty-six per cent. on the value of their estates. If they were able or willing to do this, the sequestration of their estates to be taken off. If they could not, the Commissioners were to be empowered to sell.

22. Act for the better and more effectual discovery of thieves and highwaymen.

Act directed that rewards of £10 be given for the apprehension and conviction of a burglar or a highwayman, and that reprieves be given to those of their accomplices who may make any considerable discovery and confession.

23. Act for the redress of delays and mischiefs arising by writs of error and writs of false judgment in several places.

Forasmuch as great delays, vexations and oppressions have been, and still are, occasioned to the people of this Commonwealth by writs of error, and writs of false judgment thereupon obtained: for remedy thereof *Be it enacted* by the present Parliament, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the 7th day of November, which shall be in 1653, no execution shall be stayed or suspended in any court or courts of record, or other court, by any writ or writs of error or false judgment after verdict and judgment thereupon obtained.

24. Act for continuing the powers of Commissioners for compounding, for advance of money and for indemnity.

25. Act for repealing a certain Act of the late Parliament for subscribing the engagement.

Purpose: to repeal the enactment that all persons expecting benefits from Courts of Justice, whether plaintiffs or defendants, should subscribe the engagement. Failing compliance the Judges were ordered to stop any and all such suits.

26. Act concerning the determination of several claims now depending before the Commissioners for removing obstructions.

Purpose: To extend the time in which claimants against the estates forfeited for treason, of debts owing before the treason, can lay their claims before the Commissioners.

27. Act for regulating the making of stuffs in Norfolk and Norwich.

Whereas, divers abuses and deceits have of late years been had and used in the making of worsteds and other stuffs, commonly called Norwich stuffs, and reeling of the yarns, whereof the said stuffs are either wholly, or in part made; all which tends to the debasing of the said manufacture, unto the prejudice of the public.

Be it enacted, that there shall henceforth be a corporation in the city of Norwich, consisting of two presidents, twelve wardens, and forty assistants, chosen by the master weaver, for the better regulation and carrying out of the work aforesaid.

28. Act for settling lands, late of James Earl of Derby, of the value of £500 yearly, upon Charles Earl of Derby, and his heirs.

29. Act for establishing a High Court of Justice.

The Act appointed thirty-three Commissioners to sit as a Court of Justice, with summary powers to try offences and sentence with death or imprisonment any offenders against the Act, January 30, 1648, prohibiting the proclaiming of any person to be King of England, or Ireland, or the dominions thereof.

30. Act for an assessment at the rate of £120,000 a month for six months from December 25, 1653, to June 24 then next ensuing, towards the maintenance of the Armies and Navies of the Commonwealth.

It fixed the sum to be paid by each and every county in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and appointed Commissioners in each of the said counties to collect the several amounts.

31. Act for the deafforestation, sale, and improvement of

forests, and of the honors, manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments within the usual limits and perambulations of the same, heretofore belonging to the King, Queen and Prince.

Preamble: The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, considering it to be their duty to assert and maintain the honour, liberty, and safety of the nation against all attempts whatsoever from abroad or at home; and considering likewise that said undertakings do unavoidably draw with them great expense of treasure; and being equally sensible with the good people of this Commonwealth of the pressures and exhaustings they have lain under during the time of their conflict for their just rights and liberties; and desiring to give what ease possible the necessity of affairs will permit, which in this conjunction is in that condition that they do require the supply of very great sums to carry them on, the which can be raised in no way with more advantage to the public than deafforestation, sale, and improvement of forest lands, do hereby *enact*. . . .

This long Act covers nearly sixty printed folios, with copious instructions for trustees and for the register accountants.

32. Act for constituting, ordering, and managing the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy.

33. Act for the union of Scotland with England.

Passed all its stages in the House, but did not receive the signature of the Protector until some weeks after the dissolution.

Matters of Religion.

The House first approached the business of religion by the consideration of the question of tithes: "how a godly ministry might be paid according to Gospel rules upon taking tithes away."[84] It was necessary to take that preliminary step before abolition, for "some would not give way to the remove of it (the tithe) until something was provided to set in the room thereof; others would have it removed as a grievance in the first place and then make provision as God would direct."[85] On July 15 an effort was made to fix the time for the abolition. It was moved that the question be propounded whether the maintenance of the ministry by tithes shall be continued after November 3: decided in the negative by 68 to 43, on the ground that impropriators

[84] Several Proceedings. [85] Exact Relation.

must first be satisfied. On the next day, the House spent its whole time in debating whether property in tithes was in the State or particular persons, after receiving a petition from divers well-affected persons of the nation, signed by many thousands of hands, imploring the serious endeavours of the House to abolish the unjust oppression. On July 18, the House, having debated on the propriety of tithes in general, resolved that it would descend from the general to the particular; but soon finding that the time of the Parliament was likely to be entirely taken up in the discussions and little or no progress made, it was moved that the whole subject be referred to Committee. The ayes were 56 and the noes 47. The Committee was then instructed to sit constantly two days in each week to consider the propriety of rectors, and all possessors of donatives or propriate tithes, and report.

Discussions in Committees.

On July 25 it was reported that the discussions in the Committee for tithes amounted to this much: That as touching impropriations they would not meddle with them at all; and for the tithes themselves, they were referred to the Committee for relief of petitioners. The Committee for tithes has thus ascended from the particular to the general, becoming a committee for the settlement of religion, other than the question of tithes.

The Committee to consider the propriety of incumbents in tithes, transformed into a committee for the settlement of religion, was fairly representative of the two parties. It consisted of seventeen Cromwellians and fifteen Harrisonians. Among the former were Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, General Desborough, Sir William Roberts, Walter Strickland, Colonel Sydenham, Alderman Tichborne, and Colonel Rous. Of the opposite party were Major-General Harrison, Praise Barbon, Colonel Blunt, Hugh Courtney, and Swinton of Swinton.

The same course was adopted as that taken by the Committee of the law, ten members of which were also on the tithes committee. The question of religious settlement was taken up where the former Parliament had left it: that unordained persons might receive public maintenance; that no person should be sanctioned without testimony of piety and soundness of faith; that commissioners for approbation be appointed in the

several counties; and that commissioners be nominated to exclude scandalous ministers throughout England, and for dividing or uniting of parishes.

The discussions of the Committee must have partaken of the character of the interminable disputes of the Assembly of divines; but the House never interfered. In only one instance did it proceed on a religious question independently of report from Committee. On November 17 it was resolved that the power of patrons to present to benefices be taken away, and that a Bill be brought in for the purpose. The Bill, however, was not proceeded with.

Deluge of Petitions.

There was general interest taken in the country on the questions before the Committees of petitions and of tithes. A deluge of petitions were sent in, chiefly for or against the abolition of tithes. Many were from the counties—some for abolition, praying that if necessary godly ministers might be supported out of the public treasury. On the other hand, one of the most influential was from the Common Council of the City of London, praying for a continuance of the payment of tithes; that they were not a burden, but a freedom. On September 29 a great number of petitioners appeared at the door of the House, desiring that tithes which is about five hundred years' growth, confirmed by Magna Charta and by divers Acts of Parliament, unto the present time, may *not* have the axe laid to the root of it, not cut down or abolished, as had been suggested by many of the petitioners from the counties.

Declaration "giving fitting liberty."

For the first three months the discussions on the settlement of religion had been entirely confined to the Committees for considering propriety of incumbents in tithes and for receiving petitions. It was not until October 10 that the House passed a resolution "that there shall be a declaration giving fitting liberty to all that fear God within this Commonwealth, and for the prevention of speaking evil against magistrates and magistracy, and the better preservation of the mutual peace of such as fear God among themselves, without imposing them on one another, and to discountenance blasphemous, damnable heresies, and licentious practices."

On November 2 the following instruction was sent to the Council of State: "You shall take care that the good people of

this nation, and of Ireland and Scotland, be protected in their peaceable assemblies for the worship of God: provided that the instruction be not extended to the sufferance, protection, or countenance of popish or idolatrous rites in this or either of the nations. A reply was received on November 12 :

Protection against Disturbance of Peaceable Assemblies.

Council of State, Whitehall. Parliament having lately instructed the Council to take care that the good people of England, Scotland, and Ireland be protected in their peaceable assemblies for the worship of God, not intending thereby any sufferance to Popish or idolatrous worship: it is hereby declared that Council will so protect all the good people of these nations that no disturbance may be offered to any such in their peaceable assemblies; and it is required of all ministers of justice to proceed against offenders therein as disturbers of the public peace; and all other persons whatsoever are to take notice hereof. Declaration ordered to be printed and published.

The Committees for tithes and petitions had been sitting for twenty-three weeks before they were ready to report. They had evidently based a scheme for the settlement of religion on the proposals of the Long Parliament at the beginning of the year. On December 2, it was reported to the House by Mr. Sadler:

Committee for Tithes present their Report.

1. That it be presented to Parliament as the best way for ejecting ignorant, profane, and scandalous ministers, that commissioners be sent from hence into all counties, divided into six circuits, besides London and Middlesex: three commissioners to each circuit, to join with four or six in every county, and each riding of Yorkshire; and that in every county the said persons, or five of them, two of the commissioners from hence being always present, be empowered to eject all ministers of that county that are not of good behaviour and holy conversation, or that are not apt and able to teach, or in teaching hold not fast the faithful word, or be not diligent, or labour not in word and doctrine, or be greedy of filthy lucre; and be also empowered to settle godly and able persons to preach the Gospel in all void places; and to unite two or three parishes together, so that none be above three miles from the public meeting place.

2. That it be presented to the Parliament that Dr. Arrowsmith, Colonel Goff, Major Harris, Mr. John Owen, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Ben of Dorchester, Mr. Tomes, Mr. Martin Holbeck, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Jessey, Mr. Arthur Barnardiston, Mr. Fairclough the elder, Mr. Lockyer, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Turner, Mr. William Greenhill, Colonel Campfield, Mr. Dyke, Mr. Statham, may be sent commissioners by three on a circuit, for ejecting and settling of ministers, according to the rules prescribed.

3. That it be presented to Parliament, that all such as are or shall be approved for public preachers of the Gospel in the public meeting places, shall have and enjoy the maintenance already settled by law; and such other encouragement as the Parliament hath already appointed or shall hereafter appoint.

4. And that where any scruple of payment of tithes, three Justices of the Peace, or any two of them, shall upon complaint call all the parties concerned before them, and by the oaths of lawful witnesses, shall duly apportion the value of such tithes, to be paid either in money or land by them to be set out according to said value, to be held and enjoyed by him that was to have the said tithes; and in case such apportioned value be not duly paid or enjoyed, according to the order of the said justices, the tithes shall be paid in kind, and shall be recovered in any Court of Record.

5. Upon hearing and considering what hath been offered to this Committee concerning propriety in tithes of incumbents, rectors, possessors of donatives, or propriate tithes, it is the opinion of this Committee, and resolved that it be so reported to the Parliament, that the said parties have a legal propriety in tithes.

Determined Opposition to the Committee's Proposals.

The propositions of the Committee were met by determined opposition on the part of the Harrisonians. The position they took was subsequently described by Vavasour Powell, preaching at Blackfriars, as "refusing to settle a commission of ministers to ride court as judges did, and judge who were fit to be continued or put out of their livings, and so to maintain them upon the old corrupt foundation still: the House could not quite yield that those anti-christian clergymen and tithes should be upheld."

The Harrisonian object was apparently to sweep away every vestige of the old Church organisation, and leave to every man in matters of religion to do that which was right in his own eyes. Day after day the wordy battle raged with little other result than to show, that as several Members of the majority were absent for various reasons, the issue of the voting would be very doubtful. At length, after seven consecutive days' debate, on December 10, the first clause being divided upon, it was negatived by 56 to 54.

The First Clause Negatived.

In face of such a result it was evident that little further could be hoped for in the attainment of one of the chief objects in the summoning of the Parliament. December 10 was on a Saturday. The defeated Cromwellians had the Sunday to ponder over the course that should be pursued. Doubtless consulted with the Lord General and Mr. Speaker Rous, and came to a decision. Slightly recruiting their numbers, they appeared in the House early on Monday morning, and moved a resignation before the minority had fully assembled. It was put to the question, and the Speaker, somewhat hastily, having declared the motion carried, preceded by the Mace, went immediately over to Whitehall and resigned the supreme power back into Cromwell's hands.

Majority moves a Resignation, and returns its powers to Cromwell.

The Journals of the House record: December 12. It being moved in the House this day that the sitting of Parliament any longer as now constituted will not be for the good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up to the Lord General the powers which they had received from him; and that motion being seconded by several other Members, the House rose, and the Speaker, with many other Members of the House, departed out of the House to Whitehall; where they, being the greater number of the Members sitting in the Parliament, did by writing under their hands resign unto his Excellency their powers, and Master Speaker, attended by the Members, did present the same to his Excellency accordingly.

It was stated that since this declaration, delivered to his Highness by the major part of the House present, divers of the absent Members came and freely subscribed the same, blessing God for the present change of government.

There was no Sir Simonds D'Ewes taking notes during the

sittings of the Barbone Parliament. Only of the last day is there any account preserved of its debates. The curtain was drawn but once, and there was nothing undignified about the proceedings before the majority, having asserted its numerical ascendency, dissolved the Parliament on its own motion by giving back the powers it had received and could no longer usefully employ.

A Majority Report of the Resignation.

A report emanating from the majority narrated that on the eventful Monday when the House met for the last time, "Sir Charles Wolseley stood up and declared that he had lain a long time under the pressure of his own spirits, in sitting with those whose designs and ends were destructive to the Commonwealth, and did not answer the ends they were called together for; in that they had at first dealt very disingenuously with Army, by endeavouring to take away the greatest part of their pay, and when they could not prevail in that, that they endeavoured to cast a Bill of Assessments out of the House, out of which the Army was to have their pay, which did show their evil intentions towards them. 2. He told them that they had not the spirit of justice in them, which was manifest by their Act for the sale of Sir John Stawell's estate, which Act of theirs was very unjust and dishonourable. 3. He told them that they intended to destroy the law, and to pull it up root and branch, which did appear to them by their vote to take away the chancery, and by pulling down what they could, and not bringing anything in the room of it. 4. That they did intend to take away all property, which did appear by their Saturday's vote against sending forth commissioners for the ejection of all bad ministers and putting in the good, for which reasons they would no longer sit with them, therefore were resolved to resign up that trust which they had received unto him from whom they had it from. Alderman Tichborne, Colonel Sidney, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, all of the overvoted party, stood up likewise, and spake to the same purpose." [86]

The True Narrative's Account.

The True Narrative, from the minority point of view, regretted that the House was to be broken up before passing the remedial legislation proposed by the law reformers; adding that after the speeches had been made another Member stood up, declaring himself to speak with

[86] Miscellanies, Vol. I., Guildhall Library.

much disadvantage, in that he had not as the others any premeditated thing to say; but told the Speaker he had in his hand an expedient in reference to things comprehended in the vote of Saturday last, that he hoped would satisfy all; and that the Committee for regulating the law had ready to be offered to the House Bills of very great concernment to the good and ease of the people, and protested before God, angels and men, his dissatisfaction with the thing moved, as being destructive to the Commonwealth. And after they had done, the Speaker rose up, with the mace, and all the out-voted party did follow him out of the House, and would not stay to hear the contrary party speak; who all stayed in the House; but presently after Colonel Goffe and Lieutenant-Colonel White came into the House to them, with their hats off, and after they had shown them what respect they had thought convenient, Colonel Goffe intreated them to walk out of the House; upon which they desired to know whether it was his own desire or a command. If his own desire they knew what answer to return; if a command they knew likewise what to do. But the Colonel would not answer to it, but pressed them to leave the House, because they might act those things which might prove destructive to the Commonwealth and to themselves. Wherefore he pressed them again to depart, but they told him they had a mind to sit longer, therefore desired him and the gentlemen with him to be so civil as to withdraw, which they accordingly did.[87]

[87] There were numerous comments in the Press on the resignation of the Parliament. Faithful Post chanted no requiem over the departed House, quoted Horace and Socrates, and passes on to the proclamation of the Protector, four days after the event, "the fame whereof soon echoed forth with great acclamations of joy from the soldiery and others, the bells ringing, the muskets rattling, and the cannons roaring." Every Daies Intelligence was mournful: "I have in my progress seen a golden Parliament, coveting profit; and a Parliament choice as silver, consisting, as was said, most of religious and conscientious men, to whom the best affected had hopes of good. But a House divided against itself cannot stand." A correspondent in Mercurius Politicus, in a letter from Paris, reported from London: "The whole town is filled now with the discourse of the dissolution of the Parliament of England. When they heard the manner of its dissolution, that it was a voluntary act of the major and more sober part of the Members to prevent the ruin of religion and liberty, the ill-wishers were not so jocund." The writer added that the dissolution had resulted in the Protestant interest on the Continent being revived.

Practical Legislation.

The House had sat for a little over five months. It was an earnest, hard-working Parliament, to a large extent a practical one; a notable contrast to its predecessor in the latter part of its career, and to its Protectorate successor, which spent its time in discussing the "single person," and never passed an Act. In the short period of its sittings, the Barbone Parliament prepared the way for reform in the management of the finances of the Army and Navy; for the reconstruction of the Admiralty; the systematising of the public accounts; and carried on methodically the business of supplies, legislating in the interests of trade. It passed Acts for abolishing arbitrary fines in suits at law, and for redress of grievances resulting from the law's delay; for legalising civil marriages and establishing a system of registration of births and deaths, in the place of the ill-kept parish registers recording only baptisms and burials; for the relief of prisoners for debt, and the reform of prison management; for the relief of lunatics and idiots; for the settlement of Protestants in Ireland, and for the union of Scotland with England.

The Convention Parliament of 1653 is not to be judged by the unreasonable propositions of the Millenarian enthusiasts, who formed a not inconsiderable proportion of its members, which failed of acceptance. The value of its labours must be tested by its completed work, anticipating as it did some of the legislation of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COMMONWEALTH SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION.

A FEW days after the resignation of the Barbone Parliament the Protector was proclaimed and a new Council of State was announced, composed with one exception (Gen. Skippon) of the Cromwellian party in the late assembly. Mr. Rous, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Maj.-Gen. Desborough, Col. Philip Jones, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Mr. Henry Lawrence (the President of the Council), Sir Charles Howard, Mr. Mayer, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Mr. Walter Strickland, Col. William Sydenham, and Sir Charles Wolseley. They lost no time in carrying out the reforms initiated in the defunct Parliament,[88] and in giving effect to the propositions the Committee for tithes had failed to carry. On March 8, it was announced that an ordinance was preparing for the Trial and Approbation of Ministers, and on the 16th it was referred to Mr. Matthew Hale, the erudite lawyer, for revision. The ordinance was shortly after published. It was next reported that the Commissioners had met, chosen their registers, and proceeded to their work according to the order of his Highness.[89] The Commissioners were the leading

[88] Oliver felt that the Parliament now dismissed had been perfectly right with regard to Chancery, and there was no doubt of the propriety of abolishing Chancery, or else reforming it in some way. He considered the matter, and this is what he did. He assembled fifty or sixty of the wisest lawyers in England, . . . and said to them, Go and examine this thing, and in the name of God inform me what is necessary to be done with it. . . . Well, they sat down accordingly, and in the course of six weeks they got some sixty propositions fixed in their minds as the summary of the things required to be done. And upon these sixty propositions, Chancery was reconstituted and remodelled; and so far got a new lease of life, and has lasted to our time.—Carlyle: Inaugural Address. [89] Several Proceedings.

ministers and laymen of the various denominations, whose business was to approve and induct "persons with the grace of God in them"[90] into the pulpits and parishes of the country. *Independents.*—Dr. Thomas Goodwin; Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; Philip Nye, who had been curate of St. Michael's, Cornhill; Mr. William Carter, the popular London minister, and Mr. Sydrach Simpson, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford. *Presbyterians.*—Mr. William Strong, "painful in study and exact in preaching," and Dr. Thomas Manton, who was afterwards offered the deanery of Rochester by Charles II. *Baptist.*—John Tombs, B.D., an excellent scholar and sometime Lecturer to the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple. Among others the Universities were represented by Dr. Arrowsmith, Regius Professor at Oxford, and by Dr. Tuckney, who succeeded him.

Ordinance for Approbation.[91]

An Ordinance Appointing Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers.

Whereas, for some time past hitherto there hath not been any certain course established for supplying vacant places with able and fit persons to preach the Gospel, by reason whereof, not only the rights and titles of patrons are prejudiced, but many weak, scandalous, popish, and illiterate persons have intruded themselves, or been brought in, to the great grief and trouble of the good people of this nation; for remedy and prevention thereof.

Be it ordained, by his Highness the Lord Protector, by and with the consent of his Council, that every person who shall from and after the 25th March instant be presented, nominated, chosen, or appointed to any benefice (formerly called benefice with cure of souls), or who preach any public settled lecture in England or Wales, shall, before he be admitted into any such benefice, be judged and approved by the persons hereinafter named, to be a person for the

[90] The subject for the satire in Butler's Hudibras, Canto II., concerning the Triers, as the Commissioners were called:

Whose business is by cunning sleight
To cast a figure for men's light;
To find in lines of beard and face
The physiognomy of Grace.
And by the sound of twang and nose,
If all be sound within disclose:
Free from a crack or flaw of sinning,
As men try pigskins by the ringing.

[91] Several Proceedings, E 227.

Grace of God in him, his holy and unblamable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the Gospel; and that after the said 25th March, no person but such as shall upon such approbation be admitted by the said persons, shall take any public lecture, having a stipend legally annexed and belonging thereunto, or take or receive any such benefice as aforesaid, or the profits thereof.

And be it further ordained, that Francis Rous,* esquire, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Dr. John Owen, Mr. Thankful Owen, Dr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Horton, Mr. Joseph Caryll, Mr. Philip Nye, Mr. William Carter, Mr. Sydrach Simpson, Mr. William Greenhill, Mr. William Strong, Mr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Samuel Slater, Mr. William Cooper, Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. John Tombs, Mr. Walter Cradock, Mr. Samuel Fairclough, Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Peter Sterry, Mr. Samuel Bamford, Mr. Thomas Valentine of Craford, Mr. Henry Jessey, Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, Mr. Nicholas Lockier, Mr. Daniel Dyke, Mr. James Russell, Mr. Nathaniel Campfield, Robert Tichborne,* Alderman of London, Mark Hildesley,* Thomas Wood,* John Sadler,* William Goffe, Thomas St. Nicholas,*[92] William Packer, and Edward Cresset, esquires, shall be and are hereby nominated, constituted, and appointed Commissioners for such approbation and admission as abovesaid, and upon death or removal of any of them, others shall from time to time be nominated in their places by the Lord Protector and his successors, by advice of his Council in the intervals of Parliament, and sitting of the Parliament, by the Protector and Parliament; and the said Commissioners or any five or more of them, met together in some certain place in the City of London or Westminster, as his Highness shall appoint, are hereby authorised to judge and take knowledge of the ability and fitness of any person so presented, nominated, chosen, or appointed, according to the qualification above mentioned, and upon their approbation of such his ability and fitness, to grant unto such person admission to such benefice or lecture by an instrument in writing, under a common seal to be appointed by his Highness, and under the hand of the registrar or registrars for the time being to be also nominated by the Lord Protector and his successors, which instrument the said registrar or registrars shall cause to be entered in a book for that purpose and kept on record.

And it is hereby declared, that the said person so admitted into any such benefice shall be possessor and incumbent of the same, and entitled thereby to the profits, perquisites and all rights and dues incident and belonging thereunto, as fully and effectually as if he had been instituted and inducted according to the laws of this realm; as also the person that shall be so admitted to any lecture as aforesaid, shall be thereby enabled, according to the establishment and constitution of such lecture, to preach therein, and to have and receive the stipend or profits to such lecture belonging.

Provided always, that no person who shall tender himself, or be tendered, for approbation as aforesaid shall be concluded by any

[92] Members of the Barbone Parliament are indicated by an asterisk.

vote of the said Commissioners which shall pass on the negative as to his approbation, unless nine or more of the said Commissioners be present at such vote.

And it is further ordained, that all patrons of any benefices that are now void shall within six months next after 25th March instant, and of any benefice that shall hereafter be void within six months next after the avoidance of the same, present unto the said Commissioners, or any five of them, some fit person to be admitted, and for default of such presentation within that time the presentation for that time shall devolve by lapse unto the Lord Protector and his successors.

Provided always, that in case the patron be disturbed to present unto said benefice, and thereupon within six months after the avoidance of such benefice a suit be commenced for the recovery of such presentation, and notice thereof in writing left with the said Commissioners, or any five of them, or the registrar, that such notice shall be effectual to prevent the lapse, as when the suit was heretofore commenced against the bishop or ordinary.

And it is further ordained, that during the vacancy of such place, by reason of such suit, the said Commissioners, or any five of them, have hereby authority to sequester the fruits and profits thereof for supply of the place with an able preacher by the said Commissioners, or any five or more of them, to be nominated and approved as aforesaid.

And forasmuch as many persons since the 1st of April last past have been placed in such benefices and public lectures, *It is hereby ordained*, that in case such person shall not before the 24th of June next obtain approbation and admittance in the manner before expressed, then such person or persons as have right thereunto shall, or may present or nominate some other fit and able person to such place. And in default of such presentation within two months after the said 24th June, or within six months after the place became void, the presentation for that town shall likewise, by lapse, devolve unto the Lord Protector and his successors.

And for the better satisfaction of the said Commissioners touching the godly and unblamable conversation of such persons as are to be admitted into any place as aforesaid, *It is further declared and ordained*, that before any admittance of any persons as aforesaid there shall be brought to the said Commissioners, or any five of them, a testimonial or certificate in writing, subscribed with the hands of three persons of known godliness and integrity, whereof one at least to be a preacher of the Gospel in some constant settled place, testifying upon their personal knowledge the holy and good conversation of the person so to be admitted, which said certificate shall be duly registered and filed.

And it is also declared, that the penalty for and in respect of the not subscribing or reading the Articles mentioned in the Act 13 Eliz. intituled Reformation of Disorders in the Ministers of the Church, and for not producing such testimonial as the said Act required, shall from henceforth cease and be void.

And whereas for the better maintenance of preaching ministers several augmentations by authority of Parliament have been heretofore granted, *Be it enacted*, that all person or persons who claim or who shall hereafter claim the benefit of such augmentation, shall before he or they receive the same, obtain the approbation of the said Commissioners, or five of them, as a person qualified as is before mentioned. And in case of approbation, such approbation shall be entered by the registrar, who under his hand shall also signify the same to such person or persons as are or shall be authorised to pay such augmentations, who are hereby required and authorised from time to time to pay the person so approved—such augmentation as hath been, or shall be granted unto him, or the place where he preacheth, taking his or their acquittance for the same. *Provided*, and it is hereby declared, that this Ordinance, or anything therein contained, shall not be construed to extend unto, or revive any dignities, offices, or benefits ecclesiastical, suppressed by authority of Parliament; nor to any benefices ecclesiastical that were not presentative before the Ordinance for the suppression of bishops; nor to any lectures preached or read in any of the Universities.

And it is hereby lastly declared and ordained, that the approbation or admittance aforesaid, in such manner as is before presented, is not intended nor shall be construed to be any solemn or sacred setting apart of a person to any particular office in the ministry; but only by such trial and approbation to take care that places destitute may be supplied with able and faithful preachers throughout this nation. And that such fit and approved persons, faithfully labouring in the work of the Gospel, may be in a capacity to receive such public stipend and maintenance as is or shall be allotted to such places.

Following on the Ordinance for Approbation, it was noted in Several Proceedings, August 2, that the Ordinance for the Ejection of Scandalous and Ignorant Preachers is near finished, the names for most of the counties being now ready. It passed the Council on August 17, receiving the signature of the Protector on the 28th. On September 6 the Ordinance for Ejection was published, appointing Commissioners in the respective counties, empowered to call before them ministers or schoolmasters as are or shall be ignorant, scandalous, or insufficient, and proceed to examination and determination according to the Ordinance. On September 22 it was stated that letters from several places speak of the Commissioners for Ejection preparing to meet to sit in several of the counties; those for Middlesex and City of Westminster to sit every Wednesday in the Exchequer Court.

Ordinance for Ejection.

An Ordinance for the Ejection of Scandalous, Ignorant, and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters. August 29, 1654.[93]

Whereas, by the continuance of divers scandalous and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters in many churches, chapels, and public schools within this nation, the more effectual propagation of the Gospel and settlement of a godly and painful ministry is much obstructed, and no authority now in force for removing such ministers and schoolmasters, for remedy thereof.

Be it ordained by his Excellency the Lord Protector, and by and with the consent of his Council, that persons hereinafter named be appointed and constituted Commissioners for and within the respective counties within England and Wales, for the ends and purposes hereinafter in and by this ordinance expressed and directed.

[Here follow lists of the county committees.]

And the said Commissioners for the respective counties aforesaid, or any five or more of them, are hereby authorised and empowered to call before them, or any five of them, any public preacher, lecturer, or other persons formerly called parsons, vicars, or curates, settled or which hereafter shall be settled in any benefice commonly called a benefice with cure of souls, or public lecture, having any stipend or salary legally annexed or belonging thereunto; and all and every schoolmasters who are or shall be ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, or negligent in their several and respective places; and shall or may receive all articles or charges which shall be exhibited, and proceed to examination and determination of such offences, according to the rules and directions hereinafter specified, viz., such ministers and schoolmasters shall be deemed and accounted scandalous in their lives and conversations as shall be proved guilty of holding such blasphemous and atheistical opinions as are punishable by an Act intituled An Act Against Several Atheistical, Blasphemous, and Execrable Opinions, Derogatory to the Honour of God and Destructive to Human Society, or guilty of profane cursing or swearing, perjury or subornation of perjury; such as hold, teach, or maintain any of those Popish opinions required in the oath of abjuration to be abjured, or be guilty of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns or alehouses, frequent quarrelling or fighting, frequent playing at cards or dice, profaning the Sabbath day, or such as do or shall allow the same in their families, or countenance the same in their parishioners or scholars; such as have publicly or frequently read or used the Common Prayer-book since the first of January last, or shall at any time hereafter do the same; such as do publicly and profanely scoff at or revile the strict profession or professors of religion or godliness, or encourage and countenance by word or practice any Whitsen-ales, wakes, Morris dances, May-poles, stage plays, or such like licentious practices, by which men

[93] E 1064

are encouraged in loose and profane conversation; such as have declared or shall declare by writing, preaching, or otherwise publishing their disaffection to the present Government; such ministers shall be accounted negligent as omit the public exercises of preaching and praying on the Lord's Day (not being hindered by necessary absence or infirmity of body); or that shall be non-resident; such schoolmasters shall be accounted negligent as absent themselves from their schools, and do wilfully neglect their duties in teaching the scholars.

The Commissioners are authorised to grant warrants, and to examine parties brought before them, and to eject all found guilty of the charges made; to enter their judgments into a book fairly written; and to sequester the revenues of the ejected ministers. *Provided*, that in case the said Commissioners shall find that such minister so displaced hath no other temporal estate sufficient to maintain his wife and children, then the Commissioners may proportion a fifth part of the income for the support of them. Patrons were allowed four months after ejection of a minister to present another incumbent, provided their nominee satisfied the Commissioners for approbation. In the event of failure to present, the Commissioners had power to fill up the vacancy.

The organisation of the new Church government was completed on September 14 by a Commission appointing trustees for the maintenance of ministers, to take charge of the collection and disbursement of the revenues. Commissioners met on September 26 to prepare things to be in readiness to receive petitions.

Ordinance for Maintenance.

An Ordinance for the Better Maintenance and Encouragement of Preaching Ministers and for Uniting of Parishes.[94]

Whereas, many parishes in this nation are without the constant and powerful preaching of the Gospel, through want of competent maintenance and encouragement unto able and godly ministers in such parishes; some parishes in regard to their smallness and of their propinquity and neighbourhood, and the situation of their churches or places of meeting being very convenient to be united, and other parishes are so populous and of so great an extent that all the inhabitants thereof cannot with convenience resort to their respective parish churches; to the end some provision may be made herein, and the public maintenance set apart for ministers, and other pious uses may be managed, improved, and distributed for the future, so as may be most for the advancement of the Gospel and encouragement of public preachers in all the places of the Commonwealth; and that the augmentations granted, or which shall be

[94] Abbreviated report in Several Proceedings, E 223.

granted out of the same, may be more orderly issued and certainly paid, and the revenue not overcharged; and whereas some doubts have been made whether the rents, profits and revenues of all rectories, impropriate and appropriative tithes, donatives, oblations, obventions, firstfruits, tenths, pensions, portions of tithes appropriate, and other things vested and settled in the trustees named by Act of Parliament, intituled An Act for Providing Maintenance for Preaching Ministers and other Pious Uses; and in one other Act of Parliament intituled An Additional Act for Providing Maintenance for Ministers and for other Pious Uses; or either of them for the uses therein mentioned, ought not by force of the ordinance intituled An Ordinance for Bringing the Public Revenues of this Commonwealth into one treasury, to be paid into the receipt of his Highness's exchequer.

Be it ordained, and declared by the authority aforesaid, that the said ordinance, or anything therein contained, shall not extend, or be construed to extend to any of the rents, profits and revenues by the said Acts, or any or either of them, vested in the said trustees. But it is hereby ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the rectories impropriate, appropriations, tithes appropriate, donatives, oblations, obventions, firstfruits, tenths, pensions, portions of tithes, and other the premises by the said Acts or either of them vested in the said trustees, and not exposed for sale by one other Act, intituled An Act for Sale of Manors, of Rectories, and Glebe Lands late belonging to the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, shall be henceforth vested and settled in the possession and seizin of William Steele, esquire, Recorder of the City of London; Sir John Thurrowgood, of Kensington, knight; George Cooper, Richard Young, John Pocock, Ralph Hall, Richard Sydenham, Edward Hopkins, John Humfrey, Edward Cresset, and their heirs, any five of them to have the powers in the said Acts expressed. And by action, distress, or any other lawful ways, sue, recover and collect the said profits, as right owners thereof, and have power for removing obstructions as the Commissioners formerly had concerning the sales of Bishops' lands, and compounding for corn rent, or other provision rent, reserved on any lease.

And to stand seized in the tithes and estates of delinquents who have had abatement in their composition in lieu thereof, and thereupon agreed to convey the same to trustees for augmentation of ministers' maintenance; and all the arrears thereof, according to the said agreement. And settle the same, so as the ministers that ought to receive the benefit thereof may enjoy the same, and all arrears.

They are also authorised to send to the Court of Chancery for such commissions as have issued under the Great Seal, by virtue and in pursuance of the recited Act of Parliament, intituled An Act for Providing Maintenance for Preaching Ministers and Other Pious Uses.

And the Lords' Commissioners to issue forth new commissions according to the former tenor, into such counties and places as shall be by the said trustees requested, by reason of defect of

returns; with an additional clause and power to inquire touching the yearly value of all ecclesiastic livings and benefices without cure of souls, and who receive the profits thereof, and for whose use and who is the patron, and to certify the same to the Chancery, and a duplicate to the trustees.

And upon view of any of the returns, if it be found convenient to make union of two parishes or more into one, and the profits of one godly painful minister, the trustees to present the same to His Highness and the Council, upon whose approbation the trustees by an instrument under their hands and seals, appointing also where the meeting of the inhabitants for the public worship of God shall be, and the said instrument being enrolled in Chancery, the said parishes from that time stand and be consolidated and united for the better maintenance of an able and godly minister, and all the inhabitants pay to the said minister his dues, and their rateable part of the repairs about the said church; all the number of churchwardens of each parish from time to time to continue as before the uniting; the patrons are to present by towns, the priority to be ascertained by the trustees in their instrument, except one living exceeds double in value, then that patron to present twice for the other's once.

Provided, that in case those churches are full of incumbents, the union to take place then upon the next avoidance of either of the said churches, or ejection or removal of either of the incumbents and not before; and the parishes are to continue distinct as to all rates, taxes, parochial rights, charges and duties, and all other privileges, liberties and respects whatsoever. And provided also, that where any person shall settle a competent maintenance for the minister of any parish church to be approved according to the Ordinance for Approbation of Public Preachers, there shall be no union for so long as such maintenance shall endure; and the trustees to have the power to cause such church and chapel as is useless to be taken down, and the materials to be converted to a joint stock for the repairing, enlarging, and accommodating of the church which shall be continued, and to no other use.

The said trustees have power also to divide parishes where needful and fix maintenance, divided as they shall think fit, to be approved of by the Parliament, and in the interests of Parliament, by his Highness the Lord Protector and his Council.

And where, upon union of parishes, the maintenance shall arise to £100 or more, if there be any augmentation or either, it is from the time of the union to cease; and where any augmentation to any country parish makes the living amount to above £100 a year, so much as it ariseth to above the said £100 is to be taken off by the trustees.

The trustees have power to review all augmentations in as full and ample a manner as the late Committee for Regulating the Universities were empowered to do, and with the approbation of his Highness and the Council, to allow or disallow or alter such augmentations, and to grant augmentations and allowances out of the aforesaid revenue to such other places and public preachers or

schoolmasters in such places as they shall think fit, with the approbation of his Highness and the Council. *Provided*, there shall be no abatement or diminishing any augmentation of a greater value than aforesaid granted by his Highness and the Council without their consent, nor restrain the trustees from granting a greater augmentation, if need be, in cities and market towns.

The trustees are within four months to deliver into his Highness's exchequer a particular of all the revenues aforesaid, and what leases are in being, and of how long continuance; and yearly exhibit under their hands on the second Thursday of Easter time, a perfect account of all the receipts and payments out of the said revenue. And as often as any four of the trustees die, or be deceased, the six surviving shall within two months, by feoffment or other good assurance, settle all and singular the premises to the use of themselves and such other persons as the Lord Protector and his Council shall appoint; upon the trustees in and by that ordinance expressed.

The Ordinances for Approbation and Ejection were drawn up before the meeting of the 1654 Parliament, and were not submitted to it. Cromwell and his Council had no intention of imperilling the settlement of religion by referring it to another Parliament. The former experience was a warning that no Convention, nor even a representative assembly, could ever come to agreement. That the second Parliament of the Commonwealth resented this treatment is apparent from its orders and resolutions. It resolved that the Ordinance for Ejection be committed to a committee, who were also to take into consideration the Ordinance for Approbation. It also proposed that the Ordinance for Ejection of Scandalous Ministers should be suspended for a new Act; but failed, noes being 77 and the ayes 67. Shortly after the House became involved in discussions on the question of "Single person," and the attempts to interfere with the settlement fell through. The three commissions presided over the religion of the Commonwealth until March 14, 1660, when the "Rump" passed an Act for the revival of the Plundered Ministers' Committee. It never came into operation. Two days after, this remnant of a renowned Parliament dissolved itself to make way for a successor that called in the King.

The object of the movement inaugurated in 1616-26 was attained by the Commissions of the Protectorate. It was based on Article XXXV. of Cromwell's Instrument of Government: "that the Christian Religion contained in the Scriptures be held

forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations."[95] A Gospel-Erastian organisation to fill the land with godly, learned, and properly paid ministers in every parish in the kingdom was put in operation with full powers. The royal and ecclesiastical obstructions that stood in the way of it, whether in Episcopal or Presbyterial claims to *jure divino*, were swept away by this entirely new method of organising the religious government of a country.

There can be little doubt that, in the hurly-burly of conflicting churches and sects during the existence of the Long Parliament, a feeling had been aroused among thoughtful men that a solution of the religious difficulty was only to be found in a system "giving fitting liberty to all who feared God." John Milton had protested that "the history of the Church in all ages had been characterised by the insistence of certain chief heads, articles, and principles of faith, as fundamental and orthodox, which all men were bound to hold or believe, or else incur the censure of heretics," a demand upon the consciences of men "not in the interest of Christ but of the clergy."[96] Such was the view of Francis Rous, a leader of the movement asserting the Right of Religion for half a century. He expressed it in the Commissioners' Letter circulated through the country in 1654, to guide the faithful in their nomination of ministers fitted to undertake the care of the parishes.

To all the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, especially such as labour in the Word and Doctrine, throughout England and Wales.

Dear Brethren,—There being nothing under heaven of greater importance than the preaching of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, you cannot but be very sensible of what weight and concernment it is to take a right estimate of all that offer themselves, and to pass a due approbation of those only as Christ would have admitted to that employment. A great part of which service in this nation the Lord by His Providence hath cast upon us, and is by us undertaken, as with much fear and trembling, so with a deep sense

[95] "How little religion was the concern, or so much as any longer to be the pretence of Cromwell and his Officers, appears from hence, that in the large instrument of the government of the Commonwealth, which was the Magna Charta of the new constitution, there is not a word of churches or ministers, nor anything but the Christian religion in general, with liberty to all differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline held forth."—Bishop Kennet. [96] Mercurius Politicus.

that the effectual accomplishment thereof will much depend upon the testimonials exhibited to us, concerning the holy and good conversation of such as seek approbation from us.

Wherefore, considering how easily and frequently abuses creep into businesses of this nature, partly through the endeavours of those who are ill-deserving, and partly through the non-attendance of others who are better minded, and for the prevention of any such miscarriage, we have thought it our duty hereby humbly and earnestly to beseech all the people of God throughout the land, who shall send any certificate to us, that they would not take things upon the opinion and report of others, but (according to the good provision made in the ordinance designing us to this service) to certify of their own personal knowledge and experience, so that neither any whom God accepteth may want the testimony of His servants, nor any recommended by them whom He disalloweth, lest guilt be contracted by you, to whose testimonials so much is referred; as through carelessness or partiality therein, very unworthy men may be unawares admitted, to the dishonour of God, the prejudice of His Church, and the utter frustrating of the pious intentions of our governors, and we also be accounted blameworthy, if through your misinformation way being made for our mistakes, we should any time act amiss.

This we are, and shall be more liable to, by reason of the difficulty of our making discovery in a short time of several men's graces and gifts, in so full and ample a manner as would be desired for just satisfaction, without the faithful help of such as having been observers of them, and conversant with them, do more fully know not only the tenour of their doctrine, but the constant course of their lives, it being a much more easy thing to be able to describe what a godly man should be than to be one indeed.

Nor may we doubt but that there are some men who, having first willingly deceived themselves by a false apprehension and persuasion of their own condition and estate in grace, will think it easy to deceive us by giving a false account of that condition. But as such will do well consider, that He who trieth the spirit is not mocked, neither can anything be hid from His eyes, and that they must undergo another kind of test than this slender scrutiny of ours when the secret of all hearts will be brought to light. So our brethren may likewise please to consider what opportunity is put into their hands by this address made unto them for the avoidance of such mistakes, and the inconveniences which may follow upon them through their neglect; besides the blot which will deservedly stick to them, not only for the present, but with posterity and succeeding times, forasmuch as the certificates now exhibited will appear on record.

For prevention whereof we humbly conceive and hope that this brotherly and friendly intimation will be accounted seasonable, and by the blessing of God be found useful for the successful carrying out that work we have in hand.

And therefore, dear friends and much-beloved in the Lord, give us leave again earnestly to beseech you in the bowels of Jesus Christ,

as you tender the honour of the great God Himself, whose servants we are; the precious souls of His people purchased by the blood of His Son; the advancement and propagation of His Gospel through all parts of this land and nation whereunto we belong; so to lend your joint assistance, both of your fervent prayers and due information, that hereby the work may be carried on more prosperously, and we more encouraged to attend to it.

Signed in the name and at the request of the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers.

Francis Rous.	William Goffe.
John Arrowsmith.	Stephen Marshall.

But if there were no allusions to churches in Cromwell's Instrument of Government, and nothing about dogma in the ordinances for the settlement of religion, there was much practical legislation in the enactments of the Commissions for correction of the abuses that had disgraced the Anglican establishment. Although patronage was retained, corruptions in the presentation to benefices were prevented in future by the ordinance that from and after March 25, six months after the appointment of the Commission, every rector, vicar, incumbent, or clerical schoolmaster presented by any patron, should be compelled to pass an examination by the Committee for Approbation, and prove himself to be a person with the grace of God in him, and of holy and unblamable conversation. The presentation would only be effective if the presentee was of unblemished character. Scandalous or profane ministers were rendered liable to examination by a commission instituted for the purpose of receiving the charges made against them, armed with powers of summary ejection, with discretion to allow the ejected incumbent one-fifth of the income of the living should he have no other temporal estate. As far as the revenues of the Church was concerned, they were vested in trustees, who had power to unite or divide parishes under certain regulations, so as to secure adequate maintenance for the incumbents. Tithes, endowments, first-fruits, tenths, oblations, and charitable funds were not diverted from their purposes: only the estates and emoluments of the bishops, deans, and chapters had been forfeited for the use of the Commonwealth. The parishes and their governmental usages remained intact.[97]

[97] Mr. Edwin Freshfield lately edited the "Vestry Minute-Book of the Parish of St. Margaret, Lothbury, 1571-67." As typical of other parishes

In matters of order of worship, administration of the Lord's Supper, ordination of ministers, government by Presbytery or otherwise except Episcopal, the several churches were left to themselves in nearly absolute freedom.[98] It would have been an impossible task for the rectors and curates accustomed only to read from the liturgy or use written homilies to adapt themselves to the extempore praying and preaching enjoined in the Directory for Public Worship. Yet they passed the examination of the Approbation Commission in very considerable numbers. That many persons in the country districts only slightly altered the usages of the Church is evidenced by the conduct of the Vicar of Elstow, "who kept himself under the letter of the law by making trifling variations in the Prayer-book.[99] The ordinary ecclesiastical life of the villages was little changed by this liberty to retain as well as to alter the methods of Divine worship. Baptismal, sacramental, and burial ceremonies continued to be performed with probably little variation from the ancient usages. There were probably few parishes where the ministers did not use to some extent the old liturgy, finding ample resource in reading the lessons, gospels, and epistles, and in repetition of the Psalms and such prayers as those for all sorts and conditions of men and the general thanksgiving. Kings and priests would, of course, be no longer prayed for, either according to the Book of Common Prayer or the Directory of Public Worship. But in the main the settlement of religion by the three Commissions undoubtedly went far in accomplishing the

it evidences the fact that tithes and church-rates continued to be levied and expended by the vestries and churchwardens throughout all the changes that were made in the pulpits. In the above parish the Episcopal rector was removed in 1643, and his place filled by Leonard Cooke, presumably "a godly preacher." In 1654, when the Commissioners for Approbation commenced their work, Christopher Flower was appointed minister. He conformed in 1662. During all these changes the vestry continued to assess church-rates and collect tithes as before. The minute-book of St. Christopher-le-Stocks shows the same result. "Praise God Barebones" was a vestryman of St. Dunstan's until after the Restoration.

[98] All this was a wonderful advance upon anything that England had known before. It was an effort to unite Evangelical England on Puritanic lines. Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism became the predominant feature in each church, according to the particular bias of the minister in charge. The great thing sought was godly and efficient preaching. There was diversity of operations, but the same spirit.—Vavasour Powell, by David Davies.

[99] Dr. John Brown's Life of Bunyan.

object of the reforming Parliamentarians of 1628 and 1640 : "the planting of good ministers in good livings," in every parish in the kingdom.

There is ample evidence of the reforms effected in the parishes, first by the Plundered Ministers' Committee, and afterwards by the three Commissions, in the Record Office and in the libraries of the British Museum, Lambeth, Zion College, and Welbeck Abbey.[100] The order books there preserved show that many thousands of cases had been dealt with by introducing fit ministers, improving their stipends, and regulating the boundaries of the parishes. Before the Restoration the aspect of the churches must have considerably changed for the better by the

[100] In the Record Office are two MS. books (incomplete) of orders of the Plundered Ministers' Committee, extending from 1646 onwards, chiefly signed by Gilbert Millington and Sir Harbottle Grimston. The incomes of sequestered livings were so arranged as to produce a more equal distribution, thus: the rectory of Thornton in Langdale was worth £140 per annum; it is ordered that £50 should go to Barnoldswicke, £40 to Braxton in Langdale, and £50 to Thornton in Langdale. At Zion College there is a book of orders, 1650-1, from the trustees for the maintenance of ministers, a Committee appointed by the Long Parliament, authorising sundry payments chiefly in augmentations, during which time Mr. Rous, Walter Strickland, Major-General Harrison, Anthony Stapeley, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and Richard Lucy, afterwards members of the Barbone Parliament, sign nearly one-third of the nine hundred orders entered in the book. A similar volume is in the Lambeth Library, arranged under county headings, carrying on the list of augmentations up to 1655, when the Commissions of the Protectorate were in full work. The Calendar of State Papers contains many hundreds of augmentations made by the trustees receiving sanction by orders of the Council of State; sometimes fifty or more in a single day, in sums ranging from £10 to £100 per annum. The stipends of the parsons in many of the parishes seem to have been deplorably scanty. In 1656 a petition is presented to the Council of State from the inhabitants of Buckarell, in the county of Devon, averring, "We never within the memory of man have had a qualified minister, our vicarage not being worth £20 a-year, and in the gift of the dean and chapter of Exeter." Not only were the stipends of the ministers increased: scattered parishes were united to give adequate remuneration to a settled minister, and unwieldy parishes divided. Improvements were effected in a variety of ways. There was a petition from the Mayor of Harwich, praying for the confirmation of the following order, Dec. 19, 1655, by the trustees for the maintenance of ministers: "Considering that Dovercourt is more than one and three-quarter miles from Harwich, and the ways are very dirty in winter, and that Dovercourt Vicarage is of £25 a-year value, and considering that the Harwich people undertake to provide for their minister without charge to the public, they be distinct parishes, but that the minister of Harwich be presented by the patron of Dovercourt." This arrangement became permanent, and exists to the present day.

frequent ameliorating orders put in force. It was not a revival of the union of Church and State, but a system of State aid and regulation of the parishes, leaving to individual churches a free hand for variety of doctrine and freedom in forms of worship. It was Erastian in the sense that the State provided for the support of good ministers in every parish, controlled only by County Commissions to ensure that the incumbents of livings should be godly and conscientious men. In this way the three central commissions of the Protectorate accomplished a drastic reform, similar in some respects, but much more thorough, to those effected by the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commission in England, and the disestablishment of the Irish Church in the present century.

The ethical success of the work of the Protectorate Commissions appears by result of the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. It has never been suggested that the ejected ministers were not in the main other than conscientious men. The popular estimate of their number was two thousand, a computation probably over the mark. It was also the estimate of Calamy the Younger, who occupied nearly three hundred pages in describing with more or less detail some hundreds of incumbents who were retired from their livings. As there were about nine thousand parishes in England and Wales, very far, however, from being all provided with ministers, it is certain that about one-fourth of the incumbents were eliminated by the enforcement of the Act. The remainder, who conformed, must have been either "Vicars of Bray," or the very able and learned men, as Baxter calls some of them, who had not been disturbed in their livings during the period of the Commonwealth.

It is in vain to look to contemporary writers for any fair judgment on the work of the Commissions in securing an efficient ministry throughout the country based on the simplest declarations, and giving "fitting liberty" to nearly all sorts and conditions of Christian professors. The references of Churchmen were contemptuous; those of the Sectarians tinged with bitterness. But there was one man of the period who was neither Churchman nor Sectarian, and who had no sympathy with Cromwell or with the "conventicle called the Little Parliament," as he named the Parliament of 1653. Richard Baxter asserted that

"the Commissioners saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers, and in their stead admitted of any that were able and serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinions soever they were." He added: "I know in these times you may meet with men who confidently affirm that all religion was then trodden down, and heresy and schism were the only piety; but I give warning to all ages, by the experience of this incredible age, that they take heed how they believe any, whoever they may be, while they are speaking of their factions and opinions against those that were their real or supposed adversaries. For my part, I bless God who gave me under an usurper [Cromwell], whom I opposed, such liberty to preach the Gospel with success, which I cannot have under a King to whom I have sworn due subjection and obedience; yea, *which no age, since the Gospel came into this land, did before possess, as I can learn from history.*"[101]

Baxter is corroborated by numerous references in the Mercuries of the period to the wide liberty of preaching the Gospel. "I was at a steeple-house [church] in London in the forenoon," wrote Edward Burrough, the Quaker, in 1654, "and had free liberty to speak." Another member of the Society of Friends, George Whitehead, acknowledged that they had "in those days some opportunities, and were permitted to publish the truth openly in the streets, and also to make public supplication to God." Two Quaker ministers report in 1655: "We stayed all day at the steeple-house with the people."[102] In the City of London Baptists preached in Gracechurch and Benetfink, and a "Seeker" in Bow Church, Cheapside. With the consent of the parishioners the gift of prophecy seems not to have been restrained after the usual services in the parish churches.

Cromwell, at a conference with a committee of Parliament, claimed for the work of the Commissions a conspicuous success. "You have now a godly ministry, such an one as, without vanity be it spoken, the world has not." The Protector was no hypocrite. There is a ring of true metal in his defence of the Committee for Approbation in the speech before Parliament, April 27, 1657, when the Commissions had existed for three years, and sufficient time had elapsed to measure their success. He states his belief

[101] Somers's Tracts. [102] Caton MSS.

in their unexampled service to religion in England, giving his reasons for congratulations on the result of their labours. "And truly we have settled very much the business of the ministry. I must needs say, if I have anything to rejoice in before the Lord in this world, as having done any good service, it is this: I can say it from my heart, and I know I say the truth, let any man say what he will to the contrary—he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion on it—*there hath not been such a service to England, since the Christian religion has been perfect in it.*"

The Protector then compares the results of the old system with the new in the induction of ministers. "Heretofore the men that were admitted into the ministry in the time of the Episcopacy—alas! what pitiful certificates served to make a minister! If any man could understand Latin and Greek he was sure to be admitted—as if he spoke Welsh, which in those days went for Hebrew with a good many. Certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve a turn, and a man was admitted upon such an account; aye, upon less. I am sure the admission granted to such places *since* has been under this character, as a rule: that they must not admit a man unless they were able to discern something of the grace of God in him. Grace of God, which was to be so inquired for, as not foolishly or senselessly, but so far as men could judge according to the rules of charity. Such and such a man, of whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony from four or five of the neighbouring ministers who knew him—he could not yet be admitted unless he could give a very good testimony of the grace of God in him."[103]

Cromwell concludes by a defence of comprehension. "Then, say some, none must be admitted except, perhaps, he will be baptized again. That is their opinion. They will not admit a man into a congregation to be minister, except he commence by being so much *less*. The Presbyterians, again, they will not admit him unless he be ordained. Generally *they* will not go to the Independents. Truly, I think, if I be not partial, I think if there be freedom of judgment it is there. Here are three sorts of godly men whom you are to take care for, for whom you have provided for in your settlement. And how could you put the selection upon the Presbyterians, without by possibility excluding

[103] Carlyle's version.

all those Anabaptists, all those Independents! As you have put it in this way, that, though a man be any of those three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted. This hath been our care and work; both by ordinances of ours, laying the foundations of it, and by many hundreds of ministers being admitted upon it."[104]

Undoubtedly the Commonwealth Settlement of Religion elevated the moral status of the ministry, and provided for a wide religious liberty, "broader than anything known in this country before or since." But only in the sense that there was a liberty for variation in doctrinal belief and a toleration of differences in Church government as far as the order and management of individual churches, not Anglican or Roman, were concerned. Religious freedom was approached, not reached.

[104] Carlyle's version.

APPENDIX.

PRAISE BARBON: "Praise God Barebones."

Among the State Papers in the Record Office is one signed by Barbon himself: "July 25, 1649.—Sir Fulke Greville, John Harvey, Thomas Barnardiston, and Prayse Barbon of Fleet Street, London, securities in £500 each for the newly-appointed Master of the Mint." Surely he knew how to spell his own name, although before the advent of English dictionaries most people used a wide orthographical liberty. Witness Shakespeare. The prevalent laxity in spelling was taken advantage of by the satirists in nicknaming the Roundheads. They added an *e* at the end of Barbon, inserted the same vowel in the middle of it, and finally rounded it off with an *s*. Then they introduced the name of the Supreme Being between Christian and surname, a piece of profanity not at all characteristic of Puritan reverence for the sacred name, and in direct violation of the Third Commandment. Result: *Praise God Barebones*—affixed to the First Parliament of the Commonwealth.

Not content with the liberties taken with Barbon's Christian name and patronymic, the wits asserted that his son, Dr. Nicholas Barbon, M.D., had been christened "If Christ had not died for thee thou hadst been damn'd"; and, as the Doctor's morals were said to be none of the best, he was familiarly known as "Damn'd Barebones." Is it not written in the pages of Hume? But the historian confounds the son with the brother of Barbon. Probably he never had a brother, and it does not matter. Dr. Barbon, his *son*, was a well-known projector of street improvements; one of the founders of the Phœnix, the first fire insurance company in London; M.P. for Bramber; and built the house in Crane Court, Fleet Street, long occupied by the Scottish Corporation.[105]

[105] Notes and Queries.

Praise Barbon was a dealer in leather, and the leathersellers were men of means. One of them, Joseph Prymatt, in 1651 was fined £5,000 for a libel on Sir Arthur Hazlerigge. The shop of Barbon was in Fleet Street, close to St. Dunstan's Church, where the giants struck the hours, the streets being frequently blocked up with people to see them, causing the passers-by to lose their time, temper, and money.[106] The Lock and Key,[107] as the premises were called, was fronted by prominent windows. The breakings of these are historical. The window-smashings heralded the advent, and marked the close of the career of the Commonwealth. One Sunday, four days after the passing of the Great Remonstance (1641), Barbon was holding his usual service with his "brownistical" congregation, some 150 of them, when they were attacked by the mob. Breaking all the windows, they forced themselves into the shop, and continued the hurley-burley from five to seven in the evening. There were as many women as men, who crawled over the tiles of the neighbouring house to effect their escape. One was caught by the mob and nearly beaten to a jelly. The constables at last interfered, and committed some of the congregation (!) to Bridewell and others to the Counters.[108]

Twenty years after, Feb. 12, 1661, Pepys writes: "To my father's, where Charles Glascocke was overjoyed to see how things are now, who told me the boys had last night broke Barebones's windows." Passing the house ten days after, Pepys remarked "how abominably Barebones's windows are broke again last night." It is not surprising to learn that in the interval, between the riotings of 1641-61, Barbon had himself elected to the office of parish constable. Not an unnecessary precaution. For twenty years or more Barbon bore the brunt of publicity behind his conspicuous windows in the most crowded of London streets, and in spite of mobs, the church that walked with him was an object-lesson of a successful claim for freedom of worship.

[106] Noble's Memorials of Temple Bar. [107] Within a door or two of the Lock and Key was the shop of Izaak Walton, the mercer. That master of the gentle art published his first edition of "The Compleat Angler" in 1653 at another neighbouring shop, that of the stationer, Richard Marriott. [108] 1641. The Discovery of a Swarme of Separatists. London: Printed for John Greensmith.—"At the lower end of Fleet Street, neere Fetter Lane, one Burboone, a leather-seller, entertained a whole swarme of Brownists. . . . But he yelped so loud with an horrid exclamation, that divers men passing by gave some audience thereto. . . . The sayd Burboone preached very nigh five houres, crying divers times, as was audibly heard, Hell and Damnation, telling them that they were all damned. . . . The sayd Brownists (finally) ran away, crauled over the tyles and houses,

Bishop Suter, 1856, then curate of St. Dunstan's, asserts that "Praise Barbon was a leading citizen of London, well known and respected for half a century. He followed a lucrative calling, took his full share in parish and municipal business, and was a Baptist lay preacher. If he had been the troublesome and unprincipled fanatic which Clarendon, Hume, Macaulay, and others represented him to have been, I cannot but think that he would have been afterwards molested, or turned out of the country; but he continued peaceably in our parish, attending the Vestry for a year after the Restoration, and only ceasing to be found when Vestrymen were elected on a different rule." [109]

Praise Barbon was admitted a freeman of the Leathersellers' or Skinners' Company January 20, 1623; a liveryman October 13, 1634; and third warden of the Company June 16, 1648. He had previously been elected Warden of Yeomanry July 6, 1630.[110] His parentage is not recorded: probably he was either the son or relative of John Barbon, a Puritan minister at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[111] A writer in Notes and Queries suggests that he was descended from an old family which had been settled in Soho for many years; the open space next Gerard Street, Newport Market, being known as Barbon Square in the reign of George II.

References to Barbon in the current literature are disconnected and scanty. In 1635 was buried at Wandsworth Church, Southwark, Sarah, daughter of "Praise Barbone."[112] In 1640 there was a Congregational church in London ministered to by Mr. Henry Jessey. It subsequently "harmoniously divided equally," one section remaining with "Mr. Praise Barebone."[113] He seems to have been one of the first of those who were known as the new preachers, following the example of St. Paul in alternating between secular work and the work of the ministry. "All the troubles would never have been had Mr. Greene and "Mr. Barebone" been content to have gone to their own parish churches," plaintively writes a contemporary.[114]

In 1649 Barbon was a member of the Common Council of the

escaping some one way and some another. But at length they cacht one of them alone [brave mob!], but they kickt him so vehemently, as if they meant to beat him into a jelly." E 180. A great tumult in Fleet Street: there was a congregation of sedition sowers gathered together at the sign of the Lock in Fleet Street, in the place where their preacher was prating. His pulpit was made of a half tub, having a black velvet cloth hanging down. E 181. [109] Worthies of St. Dunstan's, 1856. [110] Notes and Queries. [111] Sloane MSS. [112] Lyson. [113] Hanbury's History of the Independents. [114] Brooks's Lives of the Puritans.

City of London. Two years after he was on the Committee for the City. In the Parliament of 1653, nicknamed "Barebones's Parliament," he was an active member, although not one in the front rank. He served on six committees, and was a teller in seven divisions, and the House deputed him to meet the notorious Lilburne when he appeared with his petition.

Barbon took little part in politics during the time of the Protectorate, continuing uninterruptedly in the pastorship of his church at the Lock and Key. When the Baptist churches published their declaration in 1654 twenty-two of the subscribers were of the church that walks with "Mr. Barbone."[115] But he was profoundly stirred by the revival of the Royalist party in 1659, entered into politics again, was appointed Comptroller of Sequestrations at £300 a year, and headed the movement in London which resulted in the great petition from the City in favour of the Good Old Cause.[116] It was presented by "Mr. Praise God Barebone" and several others. At the bar of the House Mr. Barbon, addressing the Speaker, said they were come as lovers of the good old cause, such as are lovers of justice, righteousness and freedom. "There were many subscriptions, he might say thousands." The petitioners described themselves as representing the good old cause of civil and religious liberty against oppression and persecution, and prayed that no one should hold office without abjuring solemnly the pretended title of Charles Stewart.[117] The House returned thanks for their good intentions; but Monk wrote to Parliament forthwith, expostulating with them for giving too much countenance to "that furious zealot and his adherents."[118] (Six years before Monk and Barbon were fellow-members of the House of "known persons, fearing God.") Barbon was on the committee to wait upon Lord Fleetwood; but that aspiring General was already in disgrace, and the Commonwealth days were over. Summoned before the Council of State, the pastor of the Lock and Key was required to answer some matters objected against him, the result being that upon his signing the engagement not to act anything in opposition to the present power, or to the disturbance thereof, he was discharged from further attendance.[119]

The good old cause had collapsed, and Barbon was a suspect. He was reported to have been constantly consorting with Major

[115] Brooks's Lives of the Puritans. [116] Barbon for some time after was nicknamed "The Good Old Cause." A satire on the Rump, published in 1659, gives as one of the orders of Parliament that Mr. Praise God Barebone shall be Master of the Ceremonies, and that it be his care to convert all the foreign ambassadors that come over, and see them rebaptized before they have audience.—E 1074. [117] E fol. sheets. [118] Brooks's Lives of the Puritans. [119] Public Intelligencer.

Bremen and Vavasour Powell, and meeting at Parker's House. Shortly after he was arrested and sent to the Tower. On July 27, 1662, there was an order in Council on a petition from "Sarah Barebones," praying for the release on bail of her husband, close prisoner there for many months, and so ill that he must perish unless released, and to remove him to Crane Court, close by his old house in Fleet Street.[120] Probably Barbon had preferred a less prominent position than the Lock and Key in regard to his oft-demolished windows. After the fire of 1666 he appeared on appeal before Mr. Justice Hale and the other judges, who sat in the Hall at Clifford's Inn to hear and settle complaints as to the boundaries and rights of property destroyed by the calamitous Fire of London, which consumed his house at Crane Court.[121] It is probable that he had long retired from business, and had entirely devoted himself to the work of the ministry.

In 1676, when eighty years of age, Barbon was paying £25 a-year for his house in Shoe Lane.[122] He died January 5, 1680, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, and was buried at the ground near the artillery[123] (Bunhill Fields), the last resting-place of many another well-known Nonconformist.

In the portrait of Barbon in the Print Room of the British Museum he is dressed like a Puritan divine, broad white collar over a black coat ; a skull cap covers his scanty hair. He has a peaked beard and moustache after the manner of Charles I., high narrow forehead, prominent features, except chin, which is small and tapering, and a thoughtful but not sour expression.

[120] Cal. State Papers. [121] Suter's Worthies. [122] Malcolm's Redivivus. [123] Notes and Queries.

NOTE.—Is there an authentic instance of any one ever having been baptized with a Scripture text name? Barbon was born in 1596. Thirty years after there was published a curious little book, "Unomatophylacium : or the Christian Names of Men and Women now used within the Realm of Great Britain by whom blessed babes may be begotten or named. By T. Penkethman, his great little labour. It contains 297 Christian names of men, and 117 of women. All of them are in use at the end of the nineteenth century, except the following : *Men*—Aldred, Americ, Amias, Amon, Anarand, Arfast, Bede, Blaise, Bonaventure, Calisthenes, Dannet, Deric, Eadulph, Eloner, Enion, Erchenbauld, Eubulus, Eutropius, Freemund, Fulbert, Fulcher, Gawin, Gerfast, Grimbald, Horwin, Hierhome, Legar, Leofstan, Leofwin, Mallet, Maugre, Mercury, Mericke, Origen, Reynfred, Rheese, Romane, Trinian, Trophimus, Turstan, Vital, Warin, Willibald, Wimund, Wischard, Wulpher, and Wulstan. *Women*—Anchoret, Anstate, Anice, Aureola, Benigna, Bona, Chara, Dido, Dousabel, Douse, Emmet, Ena, Frideswid, Gillet,

Grischild, Henah, Kniburg, Kinulph, Merawd, Nicia, Nabilis, Parnell Polyxena, Scholastica, Tace, Temperance, Venus, and Walburg.

Single Scripture words were occasionally used in the beginning of the seventeenth century; such as Faith, Hope, Charity, Steadfast, Faithful; but there is no instance of any one being christened with a sentence or text. Of the 140 Members of the Barbone Parliament, one half of them were either John, William, Henry or Thomas. Only three or four men of the time beside Praise Barbon were distinguished by peculiar Scripture names: Thankful Owen, Arise Evans, and Accepted Trevor, Archbishop of York.

Yet Hume assumed the practice to have been a general one, giving a list of a Sussex jury taken from a panel of eighteen, *every one* of whom had text-word Christian names: Accepted, Redeemed, Faint-not, Make-peace, God-reward, Stand-fast, Earth, Called, Kill-sin, Return, Be-faithful, Fly-debate, Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith, More-fruit, Graceful, Weep-not, and Meek. To give this ridiculous invention the prominence of even a footnote in English history was unworthy of a great historian. Hume quotes, as his authority, "Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, by James Brome, M.A., rector of Charlton, in Kent, 1700"; from which, on reference, it appears that Brome gained his information "by the same worthy hand the Huntingdon jury was." The "worthy hand" had informed the credulous rector that at a jury holden in Huntingdon, July, 1619, the entire panel of twenty-two jurors had surnames "that seemed to make them at first sight persons of very great renown or quality":—King, Prince, Duke, Marquis, Earl, Baron, Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, Lord, Knight, Abbot, Baron, Dean, Archdeacon, Esquire, Fryer, Monk, Gentleman, Priest, Yeoman, and Deacon!

The Rev. C. W. Bardsley, in his "Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature, 1880," enumerates thirty-five single text-word names among the eccentricities for which he gives dates from baptismal registers; twenty-two of which were in the reign of Elizabeth, and only one as late as 1646. At the date of the Protectorate very few of the bearers of the names could have been living.

It may be fairly assumed that the Scripture text-word names with which we are familiar owe their origin entirely to the allegories of John Bunyan or the novels of Sir Walter Scott.

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